













# ARS

XXXI

## ORIENTALIS





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*On the cover:* Bronze mirror showing divinities arranged in tiers, Eastern Han period. After Umehara Sueji, *Kan sangoku rokuchokin kinen kyo zusetzu* (Selection of dated bronze mirrors of the Han, Three Kingdoms, and Six Dynasties period) (Kyoto: Imperial University, 1944), pl. 96. Also reproduced on page 43.

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*Provenance, Patronage, and Desire:  
Northern Wei Sculpture from  
Shaanxi Province*

ABSTRACT

Northern Wei sculpture from Shaanxi province was produced for a variety of functions and religious purposes by patrons organized in different forms and representing a range of social classes. While past studies of Northern Wei sculpture have often been guided by a spatial model that is oriented along a metropolitan/provincial divide, this essay proposes an alternative approach which assumes that differences of provenance are modulated by the function of the work, the social class and political position of the patrons, the organizational form of the patronage, as well as religious and political motivations. Finally, the training and assumptions that scholars bring to their studies guide what kinds of questions may be (and may not be) asked in our work, and these in turn structure and limit the type of conclusions that may be drawn. Ultimately, an awareness of our own historical and subjective relation to the materials we study offers us the possibility of understanding why we choose to pursue certain lines of research to the exclusion of others.

FIG. 1.  
*Shaanxi province*  
*map (by Linda*  
*Huff).*



FIG. 2.  
*Cross-ankled Buddha, dated 471, Bei-*  
*lin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara,*  
*Chūgoku bukkyō*  
*chōkokushi ron, 1:pl. 42).*





PAST STUDIES of Northern Wei sculpture have often been based on a spatial model that distinguishes various regional styles and relates them to one another. Most often the model posits a metropolitan style at the capital—the Yungang or Longmen style, for example—in contrast to any number of outlying provincial sites. From this perspective, Northern Wei sculpture in Shaanxi has been understood for the most part as provincial. What is often implied in such an understanding is that the metropolitan ateliers are the most skilled, knowledgeable, and “advanced” in visual style and religious expression. In contrast, sculpture from an outlying region such as Shaanxi can only be “not quite”: not quite as high in artistic skill, not quite as correct in religious iconography, and not quite as advanced as the metropolitan style.<sup>1</sup> Within a single region, the spatial model also operates in miniature. For example, within Shaanxi, Chang’an 長安 can be understood as the metropolitan center in relation to outlying provincial sites (fig. 1).

This essay proposes an alternative approach which assumes that regional differences, while important, are modulated by other factors such as the function of a work, the social class and political position of its patrons, the organizational form of the patronage, as well as religious and political motivations. In addition, we know that extant examples of sculpture, which have survived largely by chance, are only a small part of a much larger body of work. Although we speak as though these few works represent a whole, we are reminded of the partiality of our evidence each time a new archaeological discovery dramatically alters our understanding. Therefore, my interest is not in large conclusions about Northern Wei sculpture in Shaanxi. Rather, I will treat each work as an individual fragment, value idiosyncracies and anomalies, and consider the implications of differences among these works.

Finally, an important element for research is the position of the scholar: the kinds of training he or she has received, the disciplinary framework in which research is conducted, the expectations and rewards of the field of study, and personal interests and desires. These factors are not usually discussed in academic proceedings, but they are crucial to the

unspoken assumptions all of us bring to our research. Such assumptions guide what kinds of questions may (and may not) be asked in our work, and these in turn structure and limit the type of conclusions that may be reached. Ultimately, an awareness of our own historical and subjective relation to the materials we study offers us the possibility of understanding why we choose to pursue certain lines of research to the exclusion of others. I return to this issue at the end of the essay.

## BUDDHIST SCULPTURE

During the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms, Chang’an was several times the capital of non-Han Chinese dynasties, including the Former Qin 前秦 (351–394) and Later Qin 後秦 (384–417). These were respectively established by members of the Di 氐 and Qiang 羌 peoples who, along with other non-Han groups such as the Jie 羯, had settled in and around Chang’an many years before the Northern Wei captured the city from the Xiongnu Da Xia 匈奴大夏 Kingdom (407–431) in 426.<sup>2</sup> Buddhism flourished in northern China during this period, and Chang’an was an important center of Buddhist translation. Two of the most famous early propagators of Buddhism, Daoan 道安 (312–385) and Kumarajiva 鳩摩羅什 (344–413), worked here despite the political turmoil. Monastic institutions continued to flourish after the Northern Wei takeover, and it was one of these monasteries that drew the ire of Emperor Shizu 世祖, who initiated a short-lived proscription of Buddhism in 445.<sup>3</sup> Although there is surprisingly little historical documentation of Buddhism in Shaanxi during the latter part of the fifth and early sixth centuries, extant sculpture suggests that Buddhism continued to thrive in the region. For example, a cross-ankled Buddha (fig. 2) dated to 471 was discovered at Xingping xian 興平縣, west of Chang’an.<sup>4</sup> Another work (in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), dated by inscription to 476, is so similar in style that it seems likely to be from the same area if not the same workshop.<sup>5</sup> We also have two undated works from Changwu 長武, some 160 kilometers northwest of Chang’an.<sup>6</sup> The simple and

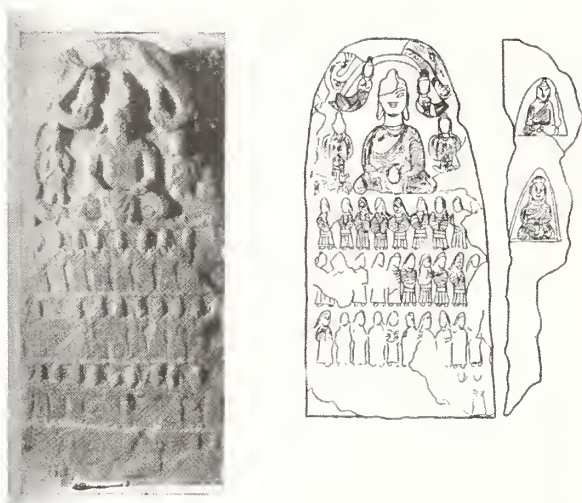


FIG. 3.  
*Stele No. One from Zhaorensi, Changwu (from Wenwu 1987, 3:53, figs. 5-6).*



FIG. 4.  
*Stele No. Two from Zhaorensi, Changwu (from Wenwu 1987, 3:53, figs. 8-10).*



FIG. 5.  
*Rectangular niche, front, dated to 496, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukk'yō chōkokushi ron, 1:pl. 102).*

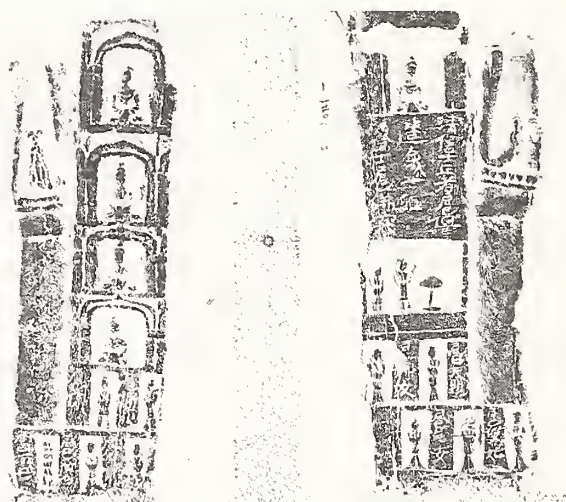


FIG. 6.  
*Rectangular niche, sides, rubbing, dated to 496, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (photo courtesy of Pei Jianping).*





FIG. 7.  
Seated Buddha, stone, dated to 502, Beilin Museum,  
Xi'an (from Lee, *China, 5000 Years*, no. 148).

relatively squat figures of the first (fig. 3) suggest a date in the early 470s. Several rows of donor figures in non-Han dress, some with the family names Mai 麥 and Wang 王, are arranged across the front. The figural and drapery style of the second work (fig. 4), also with donor figures in non-Han costume, place it slightly later in the fifth century. As we will see in other dated examples, however, the use of archaic styles was always possible in Shaanxi sculpture, and dates derived purely from an analysis of style should not be considered conclusive.

A number of dated works have been found in Chang'an or its immediate suburbs. The earliest is a rectangular niche (fig. 5) dated by inscription to 496 and discovered in a southern suburb of Xi'an 西安.<sup>7</sup> The main image is a seated Buddha dressed in monastic robes with symmetrical folds delineated in parallel lines over the arms, down the chest, and splayed below the hands. The enlarged proportions of the head and hands in contrast to the pipelike

limbs, the simple lines of the drapery, and the almost childlike facial features lend an air of naive charm to the work. To the sides is a pair of figures that should be bodhisattvas, but these slim attendants appear to be dressed in women's long gowns, with hair piled high atop their enlarged heads. This is a decidedly odd depiction of the usual standing attendants to a Buddha.

The dedication, carved in a crabby, inelegant hand on the right front, identifies the image as a Sakyamuni Buddha (*shijiawenfo* 释迦文佛) made by the Buddhist disciple (*fodizi* 佛弟子) Tian Yu 天郁, represented by a small donor figure in relief. Above a pair of similar figures to the left side are the names of two more patrons, identified as a "Woman of Pure Faith (*qingxinnü* 清信女)" and a "Man of Pure Faith (*qingxinshi* 清信士)." Arrayed along the bottom of the niche are a series of standing donor figures with adjacent colophons. The right side (fig. 6, left) has a vertical series of four small seated Buddhas in niches above two registers of donors and colophons. On the other side (fig. 6, right), the four Buddhas are replaced by a single image at the top with a short dedication by another *qingxinshi* and a scene with two figures facing an incense burner (*boshanlu* 博山爐) below. There are no official titles among the named patrons, and in light of the rough handling of the calligraphy, it seems unlikely that the patrons were of the scholar-official class or the aristocracy. The lack of symmetry in the composition of the two sides and certain oddities such as the large mushroomlike shape of the *boshanlu* in the front as well as the aforementioned feminine attendant figures further suggest a work not especially well planned or concerned with orthodox visual forms. All of the donor figures appear to be in non-Han dress.

In comparison, a work (fig. 7) dedicated some six years later in 502 shares the convention of displaying the drapery in bold, parallel folds but is otherwise very different.<sup>8</sup> The face, while still youthful, is rectangular and more mature; the body is fuller beneath the robes, and the outline of the image is softer, with a better sense of proportion. The drapery is delineated with deep, scalloped edges enlivened by the asymmetry of the folds across the chest. The figure is slightly off-center,



FIG. 8.  
*Cross-ankled Buddha, stone, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron, 1: pl. 128).*



FIG. 9.  
*Square stele, dated to 501, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron, 1: pl. 104a).*

leaning to the right, and the lower legs are oddly undefined in favor of a curtain of drapery between the thighs. There is little attempt to indicate the layers of material in a naturalistic fashion; rather, the stone is rendered into a flat, stiff pattern of overlapping pleats. The dedication on the otherwise undecorated back of the mandorla names a Liu Baosheng 劉保生 as the donor of the work. Interestingly, a second work (fig. 8) lists the same Liu Baosheng and his wife, depicted to each side of the *boshanlu*, as donors.<sup>9</sup> This undated stele features a cross-ankled Buddha and is generally similar in style to the previous work, although there are a number of differences such as the more simply rendered, flatter parallel lines of the drapery and the prominent oversized hands and feet.<sup>10</sup>

A third example of sculpture from Chang'an is a large square stele dated to 501.<sup>11</sup> Each of the sides contains a niche with a seated Buddha and two attendant bodhisattvas. Below the rear niche (fig. 9) is the dedication, which, although damaged, indicates that

the work was donated by a single *qingxinshi*, the name now lost, for his deceased wife, with the hope that she be reborn in heaven. The text is written within lightly incised squares, a characteristic of elite-class inscriptions during this period, although the calligraphy here is rather blunt and not especially distinguished.<sup>12</sup> No official titles are provided for the donor; it is primarily the impressive scale and elegant workmanship that manifest the work of a single patron of some means and probably of significant social status. This example, however, underscores the problems of translating the apparent cost of a votive work into an indicator of social class. We in fact have no evidence to confirm the actual social or political status of the patron.

While the four images in the 501 stele share some general traits with the two earlier works, there are significant differences in style. Beginning with the niche above the inscription, we find another version of the seated Buddha image with hands held





FIG. 10.  
*Square stele, dated to 501, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron, 1:pl. 103a).*



FIG. 11.  
*Square stele, dated to 501, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron, 1:pl. 104b).*

together in the lap. Compared to the 496 stele (fig. 5), the face of this work is fuller and the neck thicker; the shoulders drop off sharply to emphasize the large head, and the torso is more rounded. The fall of drapery below the hands is similarly modest although elaborated in the form of a pair of curtains framing a central pattern, reminiscent of how the drapery was handled in the 502 image (fig. 7). The pattern of the robes, however, is different from either the 496 or 502 work, here represented by repeated but varied, swelling folds accented by an incised line along the ridge, a technique that had been used in the work of 471 (fig. 2). There is a rhythm in the swirling, curvilinear pattern of the alternately thick and thin folds that is lacking in the two works of 496 and 502. The niche on the opposite side or front of the stele (fig. 10) takes still another approach. While the Buddha is also seated on a version of the Sumeru throne, the second image is even broader, with a plump face and a full fall of

drapery over the front of the throne that in its flat, wide pleats and rectilinear contours recalls that of the 502 work. The characteristics of the second image niche are shared by the third (fig. 11), except for the style of throne, and, while the form of the figure is nearly identical, another variation on drapery style is utilized across the front of the base, with the sculptor in this case taking the thick and thin folds of the first niche image and drawing them down in a lively pattern of parallel lines. The fourth niche (fig. 12) is very close to the third in approach, with the difference being still another variation in the fall of drapery in which repeated V-shaped loops accent the flow of material from the chest downward. The variation in style among the four images might suggest that they were not created at the same time and/or that different hands were involved. Yet the single dedication and overall unified approach to the stele indicate to me that the work should be considered to have been conceived and completed as a single unit.





FIG. 12.

*Square stele, dated to 501, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron, 1:pl. 103b).*

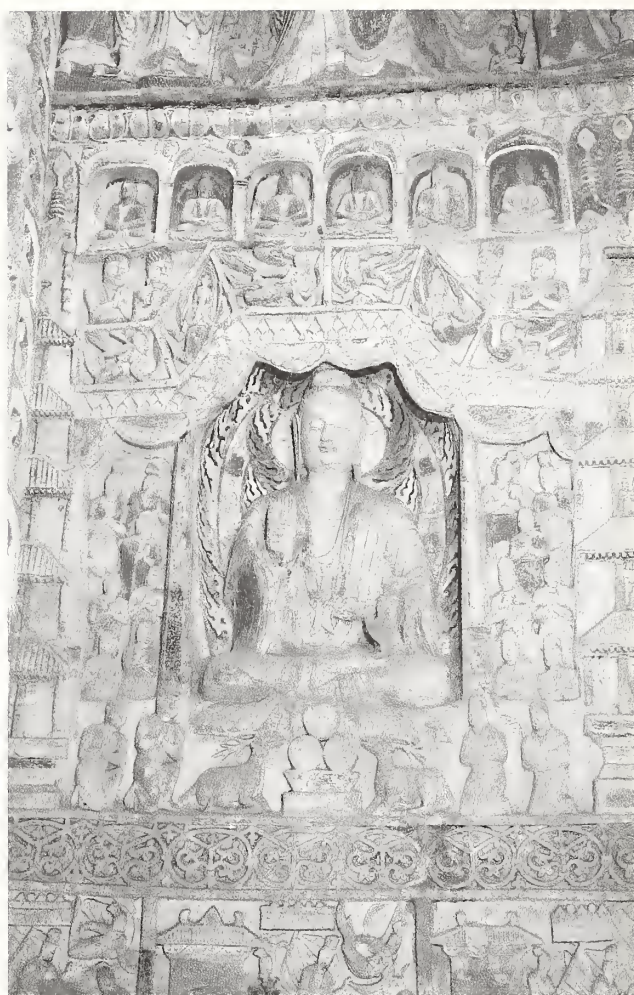


FIG. 13.

*Seated Buddha, Yungang Cave 6, east wall (from Unkō sekkutsu bunbutsu hokanjo, Unkō sekkutsu, 1:pl. 104).*

The square stele of 501 is especially instructive in demonstrating how an older style, exemplified by the first image above the dedication (fig. 9), might be deployed side by side with other styles of imagery (figs. 10–12). Taken as a whole, these images from Chang'an (figs. 5–12) display something of the range of styles available in the metropolitan area just before and after the year 500. What is demonstrated is that visual styles do not necessarily develop diachronically; in any specific locale various stylistic approaches probably commingled and overlapped.

#### DRESS, ETHNICITY, AND CLASS

By the beginning of the sixth century, Northern Wei Buddhist sculpture is said to have been transformed

from a Western to a sinicized Han Chinese style.<sup>13</sup> In Chang'an, however, we find a distinctive local pattern. None of the Buddha images are represented in the Han modes of dress found at Yungang and Longmen; and only in the attendant figures of the four-sided stele (figs. 9–12) do we find something like the looped, crossing scarves of the Han mode of dress. The attenuated figural style seen in some contemporary works from the Longmen Guyang Cave appears scarcely to have affected Chang'an, where the large-headed, fleshy, full-bodied form is consistently popular.<sup>14</sup> On the whole, there is a penchant for draping the figures rather fully; most of the Buddha images are in the closed mode with both shoulders covered, and the standing attendants wear full-length gowns. But nowhere is there any interest in key characteristics of the Han mode, such as the

prominent undergarment tied at the chest with a large ribbon (fig. 13). Only the two side images of the four-sided stele dated to 501 have something approaching the characteristic thick layers, elaborate patterns, and sharply defined angular edges of Han-mode drapery.

It is probably not coincidental that the 501 stele is the work most likely to have been a product of elite patronage in that donors of higher status appear to be most often associated with images in the most elegant Han styles of drapery. Donors of lesser status, for example in the 496 work (fig. 5) and in many of the works discussed below, favored non-Han modes and styles for their icons. That the sinicization of Buddhist imagery was related to social class should not be surprising. After all, the edict of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 that required Han modes of dress at the Northern Wei court was aimed at Xianbei 鮮卑 elites. Although he may have hoped his edicts had a wider effect, we know that as late as 496 the emperor was upset by reports that many women in Luoyang 洛陽 still dressed in traditional non-Han costume.<sup>15</sup> Even in the early sixth century, there is evidence that the Northern Wei aristocracy continued to follow Xianbei social customs, and some Han elite families in Luoyang willingly followed non-Han practices such as levirate as late as 525.<sup>16</sup> Sinicization, in other words, was an uneven and contested process. Thus the manner in which Buddhist images were draped or, for that matter, the dress of donor figures on sculpture was a choice prompted not only by ethnic background but by social position and political ambition.

The two readable family names of patrons among these works, Tian 天 and Liu 劉, are Han, although there are well-known non-Han Liu lineages.<sup>17</sup> The determination of ethnicity from family names, at best tricky, is particularly vexed when Han and non-Han peoples, elites as well as those of lesser stature, have had close social interaction over several centuries. There is no reason to believe, in other words, that there were many pure-blooded Qiang or Di lineages in and around Chang'an by the late fifth century; conversely, many Han people were no doubt deeply affected by the mixed cultural milieu. Therefore, family names alone are not reli-

able indicators of ethnicity without corroborating evidence. Often scholars have looked to the dress of the donor figures as evidence of ethnicity, assuming that Han patrons would be represented in Han costume while those of non-Han background would be shown accordingly. Images of donors, however, are typically stock male or female figures. There is little evidence that the depiction of donors on sculpture was meant to represent the specific characteristics of the patrons. In addition, it is possible within the mixed cultural milieu of Shaanxi province that some Han people adopted non-Han dress and vice-versa. This means that the depiction of donor figures was a matter of convention and a way for some patrons to enhance their status by presenting themselves in a certain kind of dress, for example elegant Han robes. In other words, such visual allusions are rhetorical claims that may or may not represent the actual status or background of the patrons.<sup>18</sup>

#### DAOIST SCULPTURE

The dated works of Buddhist sculpture discussed above, despite important formal differences, are relatively orthodox in terms of iconographic traits. Interestingly, there is no evidence of monastic sponsorship or involvement—a striking departure from patterns of patronage in contemporary Buddhist art from Longmen. Outside of Chang'an, a more varied range of forms was produced, including relatively conventional Buddhist imagery such as the works from Changwu. Most extant sculpture from outlying areas, however, depicts Daoist deities as well as idiosyncratic mixtures of Buddhist and Daoist iconography. Organized Daoism had a long history in the region by the fifth century. To the southwest of Chang'an in Hanzhong 漢中 the followers of Celestial Master Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道) maintained a semiautonomous state from the early third century until they were overrun by armies of the Former Qin in 373.<sup>19</sup> Many Daoist families were probably moved to the Qin capital of Chang'an after their defeat. In the early fifth century, the most important figure for organized Daoism under the Northern Wei dynasty, Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365–



FIG. 14 (NEAR RIGHT).

*Stele dedicated by  
Feng Chang et al.,  
front, Field Museum  
of Natural History,  
FMNH 121385  
(from Matsubara,  
Chūgoku bukkyō  
chōkokushi ron,  
1:pl. 130a).*



FIG. 15 (FAR RIGHT).

*Pottery figurines,  
early sixth century,  
Dengxian Tomb  
(from Henan sheng  
wenhua ju wenwu  
gongzuodui, Deng-  
xian, 38:no. 52).*



FIG. 16 (NEAR

RIGHT).

*Stele dedicated by  
Feng Chang et al.,  
rear, rubbing,  
Field Museum of  
Natural History,  
FMNH 121385  
(photo author).*



FIG. 17 (FAR

RIGHT).

*Stele dedicated by  
Zhang Luanguo,  
detail of rear  
niche, dated 514,  
Yaowangshan  
Museum, Yaoxian  
(photo author).*





448), was living with his family in Pingyi 馮翊 near Chang'an. When Chang'an was captured by the Eastern Jin general Liu Yu 劉裕 in 417, Kou's older brother led a large number of families to Northern Wei territory and was rewarded by being appointed their governor at Luoyang.<sup>20</sup> This was no doubt helpful when Kou traveled to the Northern Wei capital in 424 to introduce his newly revealed Daoist texts of the Celestial Master tradition and, with the support of the court official Cui Hao 崔浩 (381–450), gained for his teachings the official approbation of the Northern Wei court. In addition, the important Daoist site of Louguan 樓觀, some 60 kilometers southwest of Chang'an, was considered in later periods to be the home of Yin Xi 尹喜, the first recipient of the *Daode jing* 道德經 and Laozi's 老子 interlocutor.<sup>21</sup>

A work related to Yin Xi (in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago) is the undated Daoist stele (fig. 14) dedicated by Feng Chang 馮萇 and other members of the Feng family.<sup>22</sup> The stele, 79.5 centimeters high, has a large image niche in the front containing a seated figure flanked by a pair of standing attendants. The central figure is bearded, holds a *zhuwei* 麈尾, a small fanlike object, and wears a robe secured by a high belt across the chest as well as a conical cap.<sup>23</sup> Although called Tian Zun 天尊 by Sirén and Yu Huang 玉皇 by the Field Museum, the identity of such Daoist deities cannot be determined without a specific label or reference in the dedication.<sup>24</sup> The costume resembles Han secular dress, an example of which can be found in the late fifth-century tomb at Dengxian, Henan province (fig. 15), and may have been related to the dress of leading Daoists of the period.<sup>25</sup> The pair of attendants is also hirsute and crowned. On the rear, three bearded and capped figures are incised on the stone (fig. 16). The central figure is seated, with hands folded in his lap. A flaming halo, itself flanked by a pair of circular motifs probably representing the sun and moon, rises from his shoulders. The two smaller attendants to the sides stand on lotus thrones. Identifying colophons for each of these three figures indicate that the main seated image in the center is Yuanqi Taishang 元氣太上 (Most High of Primal Breath), with Yin Xiansheng 尹先

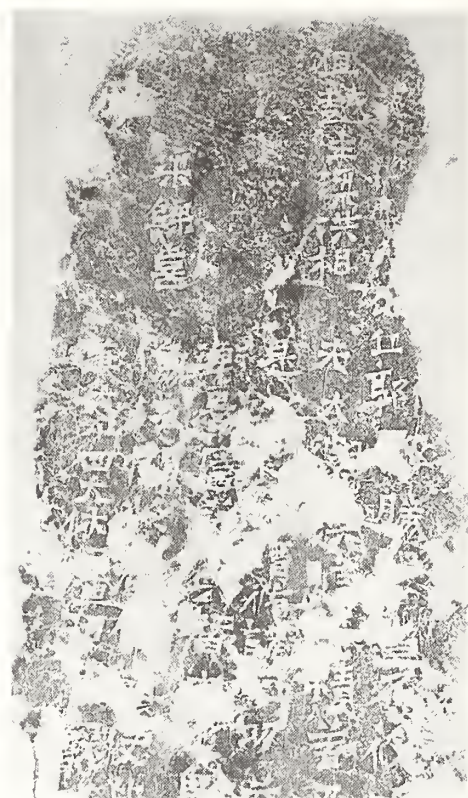
生 on the right and Zhang Ling Xiansheng 張陵先生 on the left. The central deity is probably to be identified as Laozi, although the title Yuanqi Taishang is not widely found in Daoist texts. Laozi is flanked by Yin Xi, his interlocutor, and Zhang Dao-ling 張道陵, the founder of the Celestial Master tradition.<sup>26</sup> While the named figures suggest a relation to Louguan and its special focus on Laozi and Yin Xi, evidence for Daoist activity at Louguan during the Northern Wei is found only in Tang dynasty and later texts. It is also significant that no Daoist sculpture of this period has been found in the vicinity of Louguan. The colophons thus provide important information for the further study of Daoist iconography but show no direct relation to local forms of Northern Wei Daoism.

Although undated, the Feng Chang stele exhibits its stylistic characteristics found in a number of dated Northern Wei stelae from the vicinity of Yaowangshan 藥王山, just outside Yaodian 耀縣, some 100 kilometers north of Xi'an (Chang'an).<sup>27</sup> For example, the overall shape and the proportions of the front seated figure, as well as the distinctive winglike sleeve of drapery over the left forearm, are similar to an image in the Zhang Luanguo 張亂國 stele (fig. 17), dated to 514.<sup>28</sup> The unusually designed small halo perched above the head of the main figure is also depicted on another work from Yaowangshan, the Fumeng Wenqing 夫蒙文慶 stele (fig. 18), dated to 519.<sup>29</sup> In addition, almost identical representations of the flying attendant figures and the distinctive roofed structures are found on platforms. Notably, the Feng Chang stele is smaller than the typical Yaowangshan stele and exhibits significant stylistic differences from such works as the stele dated to 519, whose figures have, for example, more elongated limbs and necks. At the same time, the corresponding visual elements suggest that the Feng Chang stele was probably from the Yaowangshan area and may date from approximately 515–520.

Some questions, however, remain. According to Sirén, the Feng Chang stele had been “[p]rovided with a modern inscription,” but he offers no explanation for his conclusion.<sup>30</sup> In fact, there is no dedication on the stele; the writing is limited to names of

FIG. 18 (NEAR RIGHT).  
*Stele dedicated by Fu-  
 meng Wenqing, detail  
 of front niche, dated to  
 519, Yaowangshan  
 Museum, Yaoxian  
 (photo author).*

FIG. 19 (FAR RIGHT).  
*Stele dedicated by Guo  
 Lusheng, detail, rub-  
 bing, dated to 515,  
 Yaowangshan Mu-  
 seum, Yaoxian, collec-  
 tion of Shukutoku Uni-  
 versity (photo courtesy  
 of Ishimatsu Hinako).*



donors, Feng Chang and his two sons (*xinan* 息男) on the front and additional names on the rear and sides. The style of the calligraphy is consistent throughout, and, while the strikingly deep, pointed accents of the individual strokes are not common in the Northern Wei period, there are similar examples from Yaowangshan on the Guo Lusheng 郭魯勝 stele (fig. 19), dated to 515, and the undated stele of Xia Houseng 夏侯僧 (fig. 20).<sup>31</sup> The characters extend into the diagonal broken section at the lower left rear of the Feng stele, an indication that the stone was inscribed before the breakage occurred. A long crack runs through the characters on the lower right rear, which is also consistent with damage after the carving of the inscription. None of this is conclusive, but it serves as evidence that the writing is older than the breaks. The inscribed areas are less than carefully executed in terms of organization or symmetry, but this is not inconsistent with other Northern Wei stelae from Yaowangshan. Finally, the modern addition of an inscription would most likely have enhanced the value of the work. The

presence of the names of the Daoist deities is consistent with such a purpose; however, a forged date—which would significantly increase the value of the stele—was never added, strongly suggesting that fraud was not the intent of those who had the stele inscribed.

In addition, there is the question of whether the incised images on the rear and sides are contemporary with those of the front. The subtle differences in style of the two central icons—the angle of the shoulders, the shape of the face, or the proportions of the mouth and other parts of the face—might be explained by the linear, two-dimensional technique used for the incised figure. At the same time, the prominent lotus pedestals of the rear standing attendants are not found in other Northern Wei Shaanxi sculpture; and a comparison of the donor figures indicates a difference between those on the front, who appear to be dressed in trousers, and those on the sides in flowing Han-style robes. These differences suggest the possibility that the rear/side imagery and inscribed names, which are quite consistent





FIG. 20 (FAR LEFT).  
*Stele dedicated by Xia Houseng, detail, Yao-wangshan Museum, Yao-xian (photo author).*

FIG. 21 (NEAR LEFT).  
*Shrine dedicated by nanguan Fu, front, dated 499, Field Museum of Natural History, FMNH 121396 (from Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron, 1:pl. 101a).*

in style, were added sometime after the front of the stele was carved. If so, the patrons of the later work, judging from their names, were probably related to the original Feng donors on the front. How much time separated the making of images on the different faces of the stele is impossible to say, especially since the later patrons would have had every reason to honor their forebears by adhering closely to the original style of the images and calligraphy. So the Feng Chang stele may indeed have been added to at a later date, but the visual evidence suggests that the additions were not necessarily modern nor motivated by deception or profit. Most importantly, the Feng Chang stele reminds us that all aspects of a work of stone sculpture need not have been executed at the same time.

#### THE NANGUAN FU SHRINE

A second example of Daoist sculpture in the Field Museum of Natural History is the stone shrine of

*nanguan* Fu 男官傅口 (fig. 21), dated to 499.<sup>32</sup> The family name Fu indicates a Han lineage; yet all of the donor figures are male and wear typical non-Han headgear, pants, and long overcoats.<sup>33</sup> The inscription provides a place name for the donor: Xianyang jun Shi'an xian 咸陽君石安縣, which is north of Chang'an in current Jingyang xian 涇陽縣.<sup>34</sup> The title *nanguan*, which is found on other examples of Daoist sculpture from this period, is that of a Daoist officiant and alerts us to the Daoist rather than Buddhist orientation of the image.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the structure of the inscription is quite consistent with contemporary Buddhist dedications that mention meetings under the dragon-flower tree (*longhua sanhui* 龍化三會), which is a quotation from Buddhist texts that describe the sermons of the future Buddha Maitreya upon his rebirth in this world.<sup>36</sup> As discussed below, elements of the imagery also have parallels with Buddhist sculpture.

The rectangular stone, 65 centimeters high, was carved as a roofed shrine with two large image

FIG. 22 (NEAR RIGHT).  
*Shrine dedicated by nanguan  
Fu, rear, dated 499, Field  
Museum of Natural History,  
FMNH 121396 (from Mat-  
subara, Chūgoku bukkyō  
chōkokushi ron, 1:pl.  
101b).*



FIG. 23 (FAR RIGHT).  
*Shrine dedicated by nanguan  
Fu, left side, dated 499, Field  
Museum of Natural History,  
FMNH 121396  
(photo author).*



niches on the front and back, a smaller niche on one narrow side, and the inscription on the other. The front and back (fig. 22) images are nearly identical: a seated, cross-ankled figure with large, distended ears, dressed in a garment with a belt across the chest and wearing distinctive headgear, squarish in outline with two deep grooves. The empty hands of the figures are held up in a gesture unknown in Buddhist iconography. Except for the feet, which protrude from below the scalloped edges of the robes in the familiar cross-ankled position of Buddhist images (figs. 2 and 8), little else in the seated figures is consistent with orthodox Buddhist imagery. The standing attendant figures, however, are very similar to those found in the 496 work from Chang'an, and the seated figure in the small left side niche (fig. 23) could be a Buddha image—draped in monastic robes, legs crossed and hands in the lap in meditation—except for the tall hat. The parallels with Buddhist imagery are closer in some examples than others, but in seated icons the distinguishing features of Daoist deities are the hat, which replaces the *uṣṇīṣa* or cranial protuberance of the Buddha; the type of dress, which follows Han secular costume rather

than monastic robes; and hand gestures that depart from conventional Buddhist mudras.

The style of the images is quite distinct from any of the Chang'an Buddhist sculpture. The extended necks and slightly overlarge heads, as well as the general naivete of the decorative forms, are reminiscent of the 496 Buddhist image from Chang'an. But in the Fu shrine the carving is more simplified, even coarse, for example in the bold parallel folds of the drapery or the long, diagonal lines that decorate the interior of the niche. The lack of proportional balance can be seen in the tiny hands and huge ears of the figures. On the lower sections of the work, the outlines of the *boshanlu* on the front and donor figures to the sides are hardly more than sketched in. Although the niches of the front and rear have similar arches formed by the long body of a pair of linked dragons, there appears to be uncertainty in how to relate the arch to the pair of dragon heads on each side of the figures. The body of the dragons extends down to the head only on the left side of the front niche; the right side and both sides of the rear niche are occupied by standing attendant figures. Alternatively, the arrangement on the rear might be understood as a



conventional dragon arch found in Buddhist sculpture (figs. 5 and 9–12) with a separate lion throne below. Yet the asymmetry of the front niche is a puzzle—testimony to a less than assured concept for the shrine.

In past scholarship, such anomalies have been considered the errors, misunderstandings, or ignorance of provincial artisans.<sup>37</sup> This explanation assumes that metropolitan ateliers under the supervision of educated clerics produced “correct” works, and deviations demonstrate a lack of knowledge or a failure to understand normative metropolitan forms. Such a neat formulation belies a more complicated situation on both sides. The Buddhist works from Chang’an are orthodox in terms of Buddhist iconography, but they are hardly uniform in style or quality of workmanship. In the countryside, we find largely orthodox iconography and styles at Changwu as well as a variety of unorthodox works—the Fu stele is only the first—that are both anomalous in terms of iconography and divergent in visual form, evidence of a range of religious motivations and expression complicated by different levels of patronage and workmanship. This is not to deny that visual characteristics may differentiate works from Chang’an from those in outlying regions of Shaanxi but to suggest that explanations constructed on a metropolitan/provincial divide fail to consider all the possible factors that contribute to the making of individual images.

#### THE FENG SHENYU STELE

Around Lintong 臨潼, a short distance east of Chang’an, a small group of sculpture from the early sixth century has been discovered.<sup>38</sup> These works are tall, rectangular stelae (*bei* 碑) with image niches, relief carving, and inscriptions. Such large stelae, which became a popular form of religious donation in northern China in the sixth century, are found most often not in cities such as Chang’an but in outlying areas and were made for placement along roadways or in other conspicuous public places.<sup>39</sup> As one stele from Lintong states: “To execute the stone and expose a true form [of the divinity], the stele is erected by the roadside. It shall stand for thousands

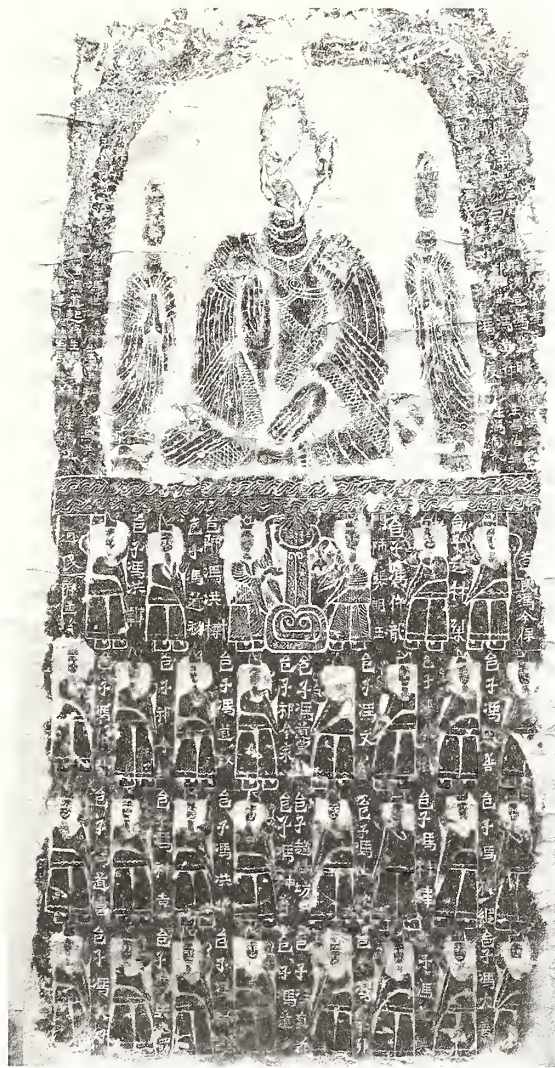


FIG. 24.

*Rubbing of stele dedicated by Feng Shenyu et al., front, dated to 505, Yaowangshan Museum, Yaoxian (from Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, Beichao fodaio, 50).*

of years without any erosion; the longer it stands the harder it becomes.”<sup>40</sup> These were thus public monuments with a function and audience more broadly cast than works such as the Fu stele, whose smaller scale suggests a personal, votive work.

The oldest stele from Lintong, dated to 505, stands 154 centimeters high (fig. 24).<sup>41</sup> As is typical in Northern Wei stelae from Shaanxi, all four surfaces are finished and carved, the front and rear with a single large image niche each, the sides with smaller niches. The inscription states that the *daomin* 道民





FIG. 25.

*Rubbing of stele dedicated by Feng Shenyu et al., rear, dated to 505, Yaowangshan Museum, Yaoxian (from Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, Beichao fodayao, 51).*

Feng Shenyu 馮神育 and an association (*yi* 邑) of some two hundred people had this image made. Interestingly, a later section of the text describes the association as a *heyi* 合邑 of 220 members. Besides *yi* and *heyi*, the term *yizi* 邑子 is used as the title of many of the donors listed on the stele. These terms are often found on Buddhist stelae to designate associations of

lay believers with monastic leadership that were active during the Northern Wei period.<sup>42</sup> Although the stele contains some 198 names, its donor images total only 140: 60 female figures—all carved on the rear face—and 80 male figures on the other three sides of the stele. The Feng Shenyu stele is especially important for the Daoist titles that are inscribed on its surface. I know of no other Northern Wei work with the titles *sandong fashi* 三洞法師, or master of the Three Caverns, as the collection of the teachings of the three main schools of Daoism were called; or *lusheng* 錄生, a term found together with *nanguan* 男官/*nüguan* 女官 and *daomin* in several Daoist texts and apparently designating a Daoist officiant.<sup>43</sup> There are many other titles of Daoist officiants and followers. From the colophons, it is possible to identify three categories of patrons: a large group of Daoist officiants and advanced lay followers, who were named but not depicted on the stele; a group of lay male sponsors, *yizi*, led by an *yishi* 邑師 and a *menshi* 門師; and a group of female lay sponsors, who have no titles and are led by two *yizi*. Although the officials listed in the upper sections of the stele are given prominence, their inclusion appears to have been primarily honorific; the actual sponsors of the stele were most likely the common lay members of the *yiyi* 邑義 depicted in the lower registers.

The image in the front niche, however, is a seated Buddha figure in meditative pose, right hand in *abhaya* mudra; the rear image (fig. 25) is a Daoist deity in a similar posture but with the right hand holding a *zhuwei*. With neither attendants nor a clearly defined niche, the image is significantly larger than the Buddha figure and is carved in high relief, which produces the striking effect of a deity emerging from the surface of the stone. A Buddhist and a Daoist figure occupy the side image niches. Thus, the principal image on the front face and the left side figure are Buddhist and form a symmetrical group with the two Daoist images on the rear and right side. While the balance in the visual imagery indicates a hybrid Buddhist/Daoist image, the leadership of the *yi* was completely Daoist.<sup>44</sup> The Feng stele may thus exemplify one way in which Daoists visually interpreted the concept that Buddhism was simply a version of Daoism. This belief was based on the





FIG. 26.  
*Image dedicated by Wang Yi, front, dated 506,*  
*Field Museum of Natural History, FMNH 121420*  
*(photo author).*

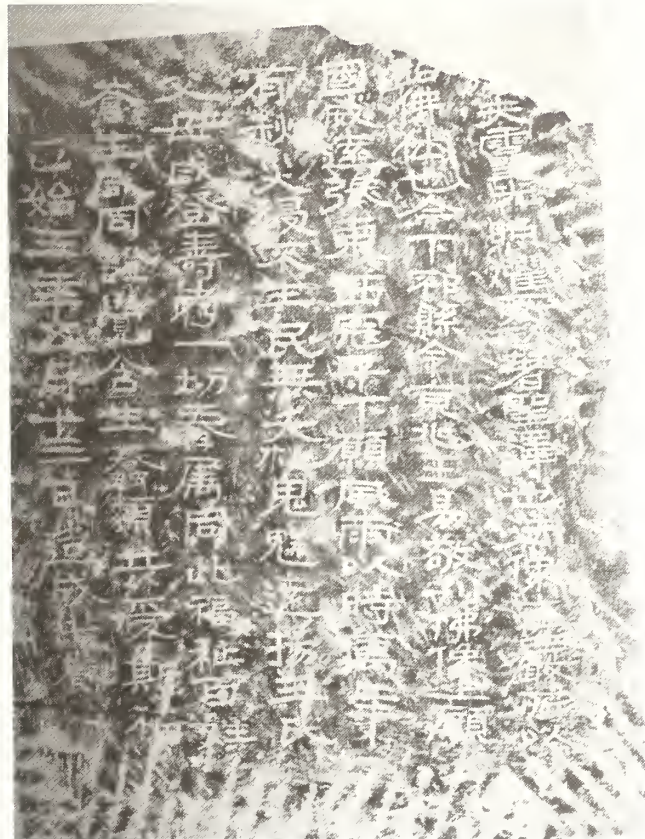


FIG. 27.  
*Image dedicated by Wang Yi, rear, dated 506,*  
*Field Museum of Natural History, FMNH 121420*  
*(photo author).*

renowned Daoist teaching known as “converting the barbarians (*huahu* 化胡)” —that is, Laozi traveled to the West and taught the barbarians about the Dao in the guise of the Buddha.<sup>45</sup> The Buddha may thus be recognized by Daoists as Laozi returned to China in the form of the Buddha. Such an understanding of Buddhism was especially important for the Lingbao 靈寶 tradition of Daoism. But, as Bokenkamp points out, the Lingbao approach did not denigrate Buddhism but was a calculated strategy to recruit adherents of Buddhism to the Lingbao way.<sup>46</sup>

#### THE WANG YI IMAGE

A third work from the Field Museum, although only 52 centimeters high and very different in overall

form, exhibits some close affinities in figural style with the Feng Shenyu stele. This is the donation of Wang Yi 王易, dated to 506 (fig. 26).<sup>47</sup> The large head, conical neck, and differentiated pattern of the wide-sleeved upper garment in the Wang sculpture are comparable to the front Buddha image (fig. 24) in the Feng stele, while the hand gestures are similar to those in the rear Daoist image (fig. 25). Despite such differences as the tiny hands and sharply sloping shoulders of the Wang figure, there is an overall visual affinity. In the inscription (fig. 27), Wang Yi is said to be an official (*ling* 令) in Xiapeixian 下邳縣, which was just east of Xuzhou 徐州 in northern Jiangsu province. But the characters *jingzhao* 京兆, which appear between Xiapeixian *ling* and Wang Yi’s name, may refer to the Jingzhao that was a Northern Wei jun 郡 corresponding to the area



around present-day Lintong.<sup>48</sup> A provenance of Jingzhao for the image would accord with its stylistic affinities to the Feng stele from Lintong. It is possible, then, that the sculpture was commissioned for a local person serving in a distant official post.

The hand position as well as the tall crown designates the main image as a Daoist deity, an impression strengthened by the pair of standing attendants in non-Han coats and trousers. The inscription, however, describes the donation as a Buddha image (*foxiang* 佛像). There are two possible explanations for the lack of correspondence between image and text. One is error: either the inscription was written incorrectly, or the wrong type of image was carved. In either case, the work would be considered an example of ignorance or inattention. The second possibility is that the Daoist deity is meant to be understood as the Buddha. In contrast to the Feng stele, where the inscription identifies the dedication simply as a stone image (*shixiang* 石像), the Wang image may be an example of a Buddhist adherent declaring that what appears to be a Daoist deity is actually the Buddha. That is to say, if Lingbao Daoists could claim that Buddhism was really a form of Daoism, the Wang image may be an example of the counterargument that the Daoist deity (Laozi?) was actually the Buddha.

The Fu shrine and Wang Yi images are examples of works by individuals. Small in scale, they may have served personal or votive functions. In contrast, the large-scale Feng Shenyu stele suggests a public setting that would promote the religious values of the imagery as well as the wealth and generosity of the donors. Such works are typically beyond the means of individual patrons (with the exception of wealthy, elite-class patrons such as the individual who dedicated the four-sided stele from Chang'an dated to 501) and are usually made for *yiyi* and organizations of family members.

#### THE YAO BODUO STELE

Arguably the best-known Daoist sculpture from Shaanxi of the Northern Wei period is the stele of Yao Boduo 姚伯多 and his family (fig. 28), dated to

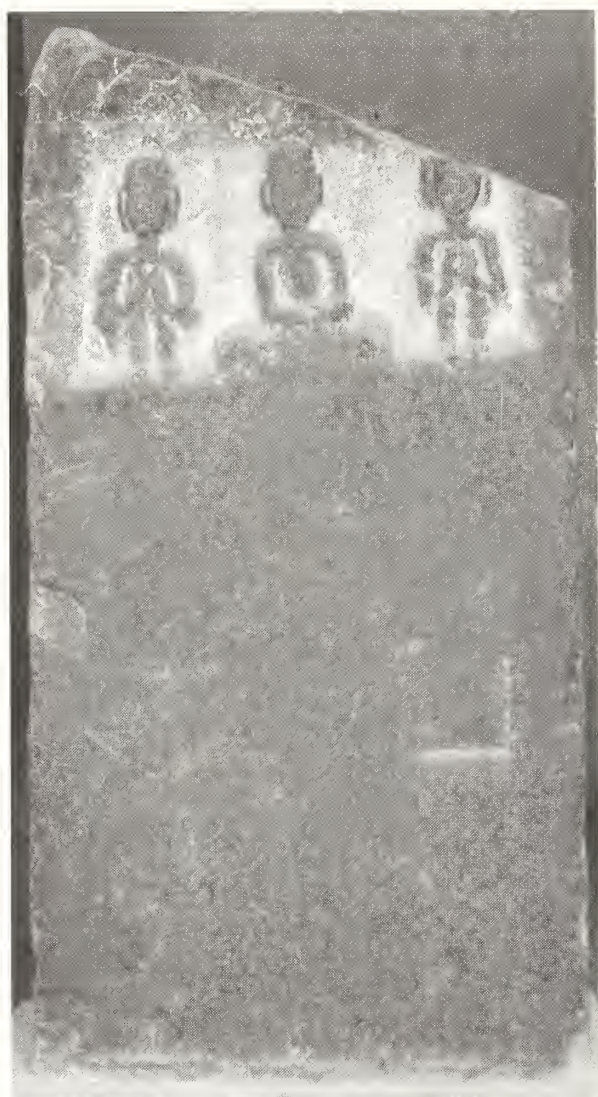


FIG. 28.  
*Stele dedicated to Yao Boduo et al., front, dated 496, Yaowangshan Museum, Yaoxian (photo author).*

496.<sup>49</sup> The Yao stele is just one of a large number of Northern Wei works discovered in the vicinity of Yaowangshan.<sup>50</sup> The imagery borrows from well-known Buddhist types: the seated deity flanked by standing attendants in the front and the cross-ankled images and attendants on the rear. In this case, however, the figures are distinguished as Daoist by their distinctive squarish hats. The Daoist orientation of the stele is confirmed by the inscription, which states that the donation is a stone image of Huang Laojun 皇老君, or the deified Laozi. The

Yao identify themselves as descendants of the Qiang founders of the Later Qin kingdom in Shaanxi, and the non-Han attire of the donor images matches their claim.<sup>51</sup> The lengthy, erudite inscription carved onto all four sides of the stele, however, is a display of text and calligraphy meant to suggest the most refined Han sensibilities as well as the elevated class background of the patrons. The expression of loyalty to the Northern Wei emperor from such an elite family is not a surprise. There is also the wish that the stele not be moved from its location in the mountains, where it was to provide “easy contact with the divine immortals (*wanglai shenxian* 往來神仙).”<sup>52</sup> The inscription is by far the most elaborate exposition of Daoist thought in any early image, and Bokenkamp has identified a number of instances in which it draws on language and imagery found in the Lingbao textual tradition. Yet there is no special emphasis on Laozi—who is deified as Huang Laojun on the Yao Boduo stele—in the Lingbao texts.<sup>53</sup> In a recent study, Bokenkamp argues that the surprising choice of the deified Laozi as the focus of a Lingbao-inspired stele may have been part of a larger strategy to demonstrate to followers of Celestial Master Daoism, for whom Laozi is quite central, that Laozi as well as the Celestial Master tradition was subsumed within the more comprehensive Lingbao teachings. In addition, the length and elegance of the text suggest to Bokenkamp the way in which “veneration for the *Laozi* text above worship of Laozi himself is a feature both of the Lingbao scriptures and of the Yao Boduo stele.”<sup>54</sup>

The main characteristic of the Lingbao tradition, as Bokenkamp has amply demonstrated, is a conscious syncretism “employed first to synthesize from various systems a single, comprehensive account of the cosmos and the life of man within it. This synthesis was clearly intended to attract adherents of rival beliefs.”<sup>55</sup> The strategy was to assimilate Buddhist and rival Daoist texts and practices as not incorrect but simply lower and less developed forms of Lingbao doctrine. Sculpture such as the Feng Shenyu stele, with its matched Buddhist and Daoist deities, or the Yao Boduo stele, with its emphasis on Laozi, may thus be understood as synthetic Lingbao works calculated to attract adherents from Bud-

dhism and Celestial Master Daoism. At the same time, some sentiments found in the Yao Boduo stele are also reminiscent of the “new” Celestial Master Daoism promulgated by Kou Qiangzhi, a member of a prominent local elite family, at the Northern Wei court.<sup>56</sup> Kou advocated the rectification of impure practices such as sexual rites and the elimination of “false” practices employed by Daoist rebels.<sup>57</sup> These goals were no doubt welcomed by the court as well as those in local positions of power such as the Yao, whose stele inscription observes that “in the present age the teachings of the Dao are scattered and the myriad deceptions become more intense as a result. Borrowed ways make chaos of perfection, [yet] the masses of people are enticed by them.”<sup>58</sup> Sentiments like these and the dedication of the stele to the emperor are evidence of the way in which loyalist elite families found the Daoism of Kou amenable to their political needs.

The erudite, beautifully carved inscription stands in sharp contrast to the relatively crude craftsmanship and awkward figural style of the images of the deities. Why would patrons with at least pretensions of significant social position tolerate such an odd and seemingly unrefined style for their otherwise costly and beautiful donation? The glowing praise showered on the image in the dedication provides some important clues:

Its construction and decoration exhausted the marvelous carving of artisans who brought out in relief and painted the bejeweled image, so that it is as if [the deity’s] true face were revealed in the present age. In its carving they fully exploited their utmost skill to bring the pure visage into view, so that it is as if one were face to face with the Perfected. Had not the Dao aided [them] in its role as hidden ancestor and had we not comprehended his superior words, how would this have been possible? At the time [when the images were completed], those coming to do reverence [to the image] paid homage to the Grand Ultimate through their joyous viewing of it; while guests coming in faith gazed at the Mystic Portals and were brought into companionship with the Sage. All these arrived, unable to overcome their joy.<sup>59</sup>



FIG. 29 (NEAR  
RIGHT).

*Stele dedicated by  
Wei Wenlang,  
front, dated 496,  
Yaowangshan  
Museum, Yaoxian  
(photo author).*



FIG. 30 (FAR RIGHT).

*Stele dedicated by  
Yang Eshao, front,  
dated 500,  
Yaowangshan  
Museum, Yaoxian  
(photo author).*



First, the text reminds us that the images on the stele were embellished with polychrome. The original effect of the stele must have been very different from its present appearance, with its front surface blackened by the taking of rubbings and the figures thus cast in a distorted, harsh relief. At the same time, the images are undeniably squat and awkwardly proportioned, and there is no evidence of the elaborate decorative relief carving found on other stelae. The hyperbolic text might be taken as an example of a rhetorical strategy both flattering to the sponsors of the stele and familiar to the audience. The description of an image inscribed on an image is rare in this period and resonates with the manner in which actual images often fail to match the hyperbole of literary descriptions of them. The disjunction between text and image suggests the problems inherent in too easily applying statements from extant texts to the explanation of images. Despite the crude appearance of the figures today, the Yao Boduo stele is a prime

example of the manner in which sophisticated text and fine calligraphy are deployed to lend prestige and status to the donation of elite-class patrons.

### THREE COMMON-CLASS WORKS

In contrast to the Yao Boduo stele, three contemporaneous works from Yaowangshan appear to represent patronage of a lesser sort. The first (fig. 29) is dated to the same year, 496, and is the donation of Wei Wenlang 魏文郎, a native of Beidi jun 北地郡, just southeast of Yaoxian. The work is badly worn all around, and the inscription on the lower front face is now very difficult to read.<sup>60</sup> What remains of the text indicates that Wei had a stone image made for the benefit of the parents of seven (past) generations. No donor figures were represented on the work, and Wei, who has no titles attached to his name, was apparently an ordinary



patron of no special distinction. The number and arrangement of the niches—especially the row of five small niches across the front and the three niches to each side—are idiosyncratic for a Buddhist stele.<sup>61</sup> The way in which Buddhist iconography was incorporated into Daoist works in Shaanxi suggests that, while the figures may appear to be Buddha images, their function may not have been Buddhist at all. In the past, such an unconventional work might have been described as a product of provincial misunderstanding; in the context of other unusual images from Yaowangshan, however, it seems advisable to consider this stele as another example of the variations in iconography and approach available to local artisans.

Although its less than ideal condition makes speculation tentative, the surface of the Wei Wenlang stele was probably never finished to the extent of the Yao Boduo or Feng stele. Such a rough, even cursory treatment of the stone suggests less attention, skill, or time devoted to the work—that is, minimal cost for a patron of limited means. Two other works from the site were treated similarly. One, dedicated by Yang Eshao 楊阿紹 and his family in 500, is a rectangular stone (fig. 30) slightly smaller than that of Wei Wenlang.<sup>62</sup> Finished only on the front, the work has one large image niche housing a seated Daoist figure. This main icon, flanked by two standing attendant figures, wears a large square hat and holds its right hand in the familiar Buddhist gesture of *abhaya* mudra. As in the Yao Boduo stele, the main seated figure and its two attendants are distinguished as Daoist by their dress, while the seated pose and mudra follow Buddhist iconographic conventions. At the same time, the style of the work is reminiscent of the Wei Wenlang stele—full, blocky figures, large rectangular heads, and drapery as well as background surfaces embellished by summary, parallel lines.

The neatly chiseled inscription states that the donor was from Beidi jun, Fuping xian 富平縣, and contains the wish that “all family members will gather for the three meetings under the dragon-flower tree, their path will be orderly and their material goods plentiful, that they will be fed and clothed naturally (願眷屬大小，龍化三會，道整物丰，衣食自然).”<sup>63</sup> The phrase 衣食自然 is, according to Bokenkamp, an “oft-repeated Lingbao promise



FIG. 31.

*Stele dedicated by Yang Manhei, front, dated 500, Yaowangshan Museum, Yaoxian (photo author).*

that the dead will be ‘fed and clothed naturally’ by the otherworldly agents of the Dao as a response to Lingbao ritual. In the scriptures this represents an abrogation of the familial responsibility to ‘feed’ the dead bloody offerings through ancestral sacrifices.”<sup>64</sup> “The three meetings under the dragon-flower tree (龍化三會)” is a common phrase in Buddhist texts and was used in the *nanguan* Fu shrine. The text combined with the visual imagery suggests a Lingbao-inspired assimilation of Buddhist forms. Yang, who is joined in the dedication by the family members listed to the left of the dedication, is not identified with an official title, and there is no visual indication, such as well-dressed donor figures, of a significant social status for the Yang family. The fact that three sides of the stele were left unfinished may indicate that the Yang family could only afford to have the front face decorated.

The second stele of 500 (fig. 31), dedicated according to the inscription just twelve days after



the first, was the work of Yang Manhei 楊曼黑 and his family.<sup>65</sup> As in the Yang Eshao work, only the front face of the stone has been finished, but in this case two seated images, each with two attendants, are placed within separate side-by-side niches. The left figure wears a squarish hat and holds a small object in its right hand; in contrast, the right figure has an *uṣṇīṣa* with the right hand raised in *abhaya* mudra. They would thus represent a Daoist deity on the left and a Buddha on the right, the first example of such a pairing that we have encountered.<sup>66</sup> Such paired figures are common in Buddhist art of the fifth century and are understood to represent Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna seated side by side, as described in the *Lotus Sutra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經).<sup>67</sup> The pairing of a Daoist and Buddhist deity, however, may be another expression of the belief that Buddhism was simply a version of Daoism returned to China ostensibly as a foreign teaching—"two paths that return to the One," according to a Lingbao Daoist text.<sup>68</sup>

The two Yang works are so closely related in type of stone, scale, and style of carving that they appear to have come from the same workshop. In addition, the texts on the two stelae are very similar in structure, indeed identical in some parts, indicating that Lingbao-inspired works could take the form of either a single Daoist deity or a pair of Daoist and Buddhist figures. The Wei Wenlang stele, while larger than that of the two Yangs, is similar enough in style that it may also have been a product of the same workshop. Apparently carvers of stelae were not necessarily organized according to religious affiliation but could create images with iconographic and textual variations that matched the varied religious interests of their patrons.

In none of the three stelae do we find elegantly dressed donor figures, as we had in the Yao Boduo stele. The lack of any evidence of high status combined with the rough quality of the carving indicates that all were created with limited resources, probably reflecting the comparatively lower social and economic status of their patrons. If the same workshop produced all three, it may have been one that specialized in sculpture affordable to common-class patrons.

#### PATRONAGE AND FUNCTION

The images discussed above represent the patronage of individuals or families. Only the Feng Shenyu stele was dedicated by a *yiyi*, and even this organization appears to have consisted mainly of a single family or lineage. The Yao Boduo stele stands out as an example of the type of imagery produced for patrons of the highest status. Interestingly, despite the testimony of its inscription, the emphasis is not on the images but on the complex, sophisticated text. The class background of the patrons of the Feng Shenyu stele is not clear; there are no official titles, but the dress and comportment of the donor images suggest a group with at least some social status. Although similar in figural style, the Fu shrine is far simpler, even crude, in comparison to the carving of the Feng family work. Such a difference suggests a lower social class for the *nanguan* Fu, but the relatively grander Feng stele may also be the result of the greater resources of a group of some 200 individuals. Similarly, the small image donated by Wang Yi represents another type of modest work made by individuals, in this case a minor official. The three remaining works from Yaowangshan may be understood as representing still lower classes of patrons, none of whom is identified by any religious or official title. Although relatively large in scale, the works share a notably brusque style, with no representations of donor figures. The main difference is that the Wei Wenlang stele is carved on all four sides, while the two works by the Yangs are only decorated on the front. It is important to underscore the wide range of image types among these nearly contemporary works as well as their variations in scale and level of workmanship.

In terms of function, these images present a number of unanswered questions. The large-scale works certainly lend themselves to public display, and it is easy to imagine that the Yao Boduo or Feng Shenyu stele would have lent prestige to its patrons. The function of the remaining works, however, is not as clear. Works such as the Wei Wenlang stele are of significant scale, but their undistinguished carving and lack of donor figures suggest that they would have been unimpressive as public monuments.

Other works of modest scale, such as the Fu shrine, might have been placed within the precincts of a Buddhist or Daoist temple, but it is striking that none of the inscriptions documents such a context. Rather, they consistently emphasize narrowly circumscribed personal goals for the donation, such as votive wishes for the benefit of family members or teachers of the past.

The religious orientation of the works is clearer and can be arranged into several groups. The first consists of works with only Daoist imagery, such as the Fu shrine. Similarly Daoist in its iconography is the Feng Chang stele, with its important references to Laozi, Yin Xi, and Zhang Daoling. The Yao Boduo stele also names Laozi, but the language of the text suggests a significant Lingbao orientation. A second group of Daoist sculpture appropriated elements of Buddhist imagery, for example the use of *abhaya* mudra in an otherwise Daoist figure in the Yang Eshao image. In two other cases, the Feng Shenyu and Yang Manhei works, Buddhist and Daoist imagery are carefully balanced, an approach that resonates with the strategy of Lingbao Daoism in relation to Buddhism. The two remaining works are not easily categorized. The small work by Wang Yi also looks wholly Daoist, but the inscription labels it as a Buddhist image. And the Wei Wenlang stele, although ostensibly Buddhist, is anomalous in iconography and numerical sets of images, leaving open the possibility that it too was understood to be a Daoist image. The two latter works may strike some as simply “mistakes,” but, considering the range of iconographic variations produced in Shaanxi, it may be more prudent simply to consider them works for which we do not yet have an adequate explanation.

Strikingly, orthodox Buddhist images are not to be found among these early dated Northern Wei works, although Buddhist sculpture from nearby Chang'an must have been known, and standard Buddhist imagery was produced in distant Shaanxi sites such as Changwu. One nearly typical Buddhist work is the Zhu Shuangchi 朱雙熾 stele (fig. 32), 121 centimeters tall, dated to 512 and discovered in Huaxian 華縣, some 80 kilometers east of Chang'an.<sup>69</sup> In its restrained rhythmic fall of drap-



FIG. 32.

*Stele dedicated by Zhu Shuangchi, front, dated 512, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (from Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui, ed., Wei Jin Nanbeichao diaosu, no. 72).*

ery and deftly delineated relief carvings, the stele exhibits something akin to the “metropolitan” style of Buddhist works from Chang'an, such as the square stele dated to 501. The elegant, sinicized dress of the deities and donor figures bespeaks an





FIG. 33.  
Stele dedicated by Zhu Shuangchi, side, dated  
512, Beilin Museum, Xi'an (photo author).

elevated class of patronage, as does the parasol-holding attendant behind the image of Zhu Shuangchi, whose elite status is confirmed by the dedication, which identifies him with the titles "General of the Army of the Center, Governor of Wudu (*Zhongjun jiangjun*, *Wudu taishou* 中軍將軍, 武都太守)." <sup>70</sup> Niches on all four sides contain orthodox Buddhist imagery except for one seated Daoist figure—bearded, capped, and holding a *zhu-wei* in his lap with both hands (fig. 33). Since the dedication specifies that the image is a stone Buddha (*shifo* 石佛), the Daoist figure is probably included to make a statement that Daoist deities are subsumed under Buddhism. The position of the Daoist image in the lowest niche on the right side supports such an interpretation, but we in fact understand little about how such a Daoist image

functioned in an otherwise conventional work of Buddhist sculpture.

#### DESIRE

The Zhu Shuangchi stele is the most notable exception to a general pattern in which the sculpture of relatively upper-class patrons conforms most closely to orthodox iconographical patterns and known forms of Buddhism or Daoism. This is not surprising given that what we understand to be orthodox comes to us almost wholly from texts of or about learned practitioners and monastics, whose primary patrons were the most socially privileged and politically powerful elites. <sup>71</sup> Although such upper-class Buddhist and Daoist teachings were no doubt widely influential, imperial edicts recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書 reveal that the Northern Wei court was unable to control the activities of unauthorized Buddhist monastics and their followers. <sup>72</sup> The inscription on the Yao Boduo stele indicates that Daoists in Shaanxi province were also concerned with the spread of "false" teachings among the ignorant. Possibly, then, those works of sculpture that seem anomalous in relation to what we know of Buddhism and Daoism represent something of the heterodox beliefs and practices that learned monastics, their elite-class followers, and political authorities condemned.

Past art historical scholarship has often taken a similar position toward anomalous imagery. This is at least in part the result of an uncritical acceptance of textual materials—classical, historical, and religious—that were written by and for the best-educated classes: the ruling aristocracy, high-ranking officials, Buddhist monastics, and Daoist practitioners. These texts represent an orthodox version of Northern Wei Buddhism and Daoism. From such a point of view, anomalous works of sculpture can only be "mistakes" or the product of "ignorance." In addition, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that many modern scholars desire to identify with the traditional literati class—not only its command of classical learning and texts but also its role as exemplars of loyalty and virtue. This desire has the effect of naturalizing the Han literati and, to a certain

extent, elite-class viewpoints as our own if not as quintessentially “Chinese.” Such an approach, which might be appropriate for the study of orthodox imagery produced for the Han elite classes, only reproduces the negativity with which heterodox religious beliefs or imagery were viewed by many elites in their own time. Clearly there are important consequences for the values and desires that we bring to the subject of our research.

Those familiar with Shaanxi Northern Wei sculpture have no doubt noticed that I have not mentioned a well-known work from Yaowangshan: the stele of Wei Wenlang 魏文朗 (fig. 34), dated by inscription to 424. Recently, doubts have been raised about the possibility of such an early date for the work.<sup>73</sup> For example, the use of a Northern Wei regnal era (*Shiguang* 始光) in 424 was unlikely since the rival Da Xia kingdom controlled Chang’an and vicinity until 426. In addition, early geographical records state that Sanyuan xian 三原縣, a place name in the inscription, was not established until 427–430 at the earliest and possibly as late as 446.<sup>74</sup> Although there is no space to discuss specific comparisons in this essay, the visual style of the stele indeed seems related to sixth-century Yaowangshan works, especially works of ca. 514–520 (see figs. 17–18). Yet the multiplicity of styles that were used in contemporaneous works of a common provenance strongly indicates that one cannot easily rely on stylistic characteristics alone to date a Northern Wei image. The problems related to the Wei Wenlang stele again remind us of the significant, difficult issues related to many images from Shaanxi.

Puzzling questions and surprising inconsistencies abound in Northern Wei Buddhist and Daoist sculpture, and although often noted, most are otherwise ignored because scholars are naturally interested in answers, not intractable problems. Therefore, even with the many questions that might be raised about a work such as the Wei Wenlang stele, most of us desire a straightforward answer to the question of its date or religious orientation. This is quite understandable, but the insistence on neat conclusions also comes at a price. The practice of ignoring or explaining away contradictory evidence for the sake of making an argu-



FIG. 34.  
Stele dedicated by Wei Wenlang, front, dated 424 (?),  
Yaowangshan Museum, Yaodian (photo author).

ment can have the effect of foreclosing further inquiry. The momentum of our scholarship, driven by this desire for conclusions, is fundamentally antithetical to developing new scholarly approaches. To understand why a work of Northern Wei sculpture looks the way it does is profoundly difficult, perhaps impossible. To acknowledge the limits of our knowledge is not to justify failure. Rather, it is a first step toward opening new paths of inquiry and fresh understandings of ancient objects. □



## Notes

Research in China for this essay would not have been possible without the assistance of many scholars and friends, including Ma Shichang, Yu Weichao, Shao Wenliang, Zhang Yan, Pei Jianping, and Chang Qing. Special thanks to Bennet Bronson and Chuimei Ho of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, for their hospitality, gracious assistance, and valuable advice. A version of the essay was presented at the conference "Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archeology of a Transformative Period (3rd–6th Centuries C.E.)," at the University of Chicago, 7 November 1999, and published as Abu Xianzi, "Shaanxi sheng de Bei-Wei diaoke: lai yuan, zanzhu, yuanwang (Northern Wei sculpture from Shaanxi province: Provenance, patronage, desire)," in *Han Tang zhi jian de zongjiao yishu yu kaogu* (Religious art and archaeology of the Han to Tang period), ed. Wu Hong (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000), 461–88.

1. For an early discussion of Northern Wei sculpture from Shaanxi, see Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century: Over 900 Specimens in Stone, Bronze, Lacquer and Wood, Principally from Northern China*, 4 vols. (London: Ernest Benn, 1925), 1:1–liv. Also see Jean M. James, "Some Iconographic Problems in Early Daoist-Buddhist Sculptures in China," *Archives of Asian Art* 42 (1989): 71–76. For the study of subregional Shaanxi styles, see the two essays by Matsubara Saburō: "Hoku-Gi no Fuken yoshiki sekicho (Fuxian-style stone carving in the Northern Wei)," in *Chūgoku bukkō chōkokushi kenkyū* (Research on Chinese Buddhist sculpture) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966), 19–41, and "Hoku-Gi Seian-sho ha sekicho no ikkeifu (Genealogy of Northern Wei Shaanxi stone carving)," in *Chūgoku bukkō chōkokushi ron* (Historical discussion of Chinese Buddhist sculpture), 4 vols. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1995), 1:35–52.

2. For a study of non-Han peoples based on extant inscriptions, see Ma Changshou, *Beiming suojian qian Qin dao Sui chu de guanzhong buzu* (Central plains clans from the Qin to Sui periods as seen in northern inscriptions) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985).

3. Ethnic conflict and the proscription of Buddhism are discussed in Liu Shufen, "Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in 5th-Century Chang'an" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., March 1998).

4. Now in the collection of the Beilin Museum, Xi'an. See Chang Qing, "Bei-Wei Huangxing zaoxiang kao (Study of the Northern Wei Huangxing regnal year image)," *Wenbo* 1989, 4:23–29, 33. A recent study of the narrative scenes on the rear of the stele is Audrey Spiro, "Hybrid Vigor: Memory, Mimesis, and the Matching of Meanings in Fifth-Century Buddhist Art," in *Dialogue with the Ancients*, ed. Scott Pearce, Patricia J.

Ebrey, and Audrey Spiro (Cambridge: Asia Center, forthcoming). Thanks to Audrey Spiro for providing me with a copy of her manuscript.

5. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkō chōkokushi ron*, 1:pl. 51–52. Discussed in Matsubara Saburō, "Bosuton bijutsukan zō Sensei ha sekibutsu santai ni tsuite (Three stone Buddhist images of the Shaanxi school in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)," *Bukkō geijutsu* 90 (February 1973): 8–12.

6. Three damaged but largely complete works were discovered in 1972 within the Zhaorensi 昭仁寺 at Changwu. See Zhang Yan and Zhao Jingpu, "Shaanxi sheng Changwu xian chutu yipi fojiao zaoxiangbei (A group of Buddhist stelae excavated from Changwu county, Shaanxi province)," *Wenwu* 1987, 3:51–59.

7. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkō chōkokushi ron*, 1:pl. 102. Excavated in 1955 from Xi'an Nanjiao Wahutong cun 西安南郊瓦胡同村, presently in the Beilin Museum, Xi'an.

8. Sherman E. Lee, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, and Museo Guggenheim Bilbao, *China, 5000 Years: Innovation and Transformation in the Arts* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1998), no. 148.

9. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkō chōkokushi ron*, 1:pl. 128. Thanks to Kathy Mino for first alerting me to the same donor's name on both works.

10. The peculiarities of the work dated to 502 raise questions about its authenticity, as does the fact that neither of these two works was excavated, both having been donated to the Beilin Museum in 1952. See Li Yuzheng, Zhao Minsheng, and Lei Bing, *Xi'an beilin shufa yishu* (Calligraphic arts of the Xi'an forest of stelae) (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), 404, no. 15. It seems possible that the dated work was copied from the undated piece, which would explain the mishandling of the legs and the unusual scalloped folds of drapery, these being a modern elaboration of the stiff, linear lines of the undated work. The cross-ankled Buddha, in any case, raises no similar questions and serves to demonstrate another distinctive visual style current at the beginning of the sixth century.

11. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkō chōkokushi ron*, 1:pls. 103–4. Excavated in 1949 from Zhajiazhai 查家寨 and presently in the Beilin Museum, Xi'an.

12. An example of the use of incised squares in elite-class works is the inscription of the monk Hui Cheng 慧成 for his deceased father, the duke of Shiping (Shiping gong 始平公), in the Guyang Cave, Longmen. See Liu Jinglong, *Longmen ershipin* (Twenty Longmen works) (Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyue chubanshe, 1995), no. 4.

13. Such an understanding has been long and oft repeated. See,

for example, Ludwig Bachhofer, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (New York: Pantheon, 1946), 66–67; Mizuno Seiichi and Naga-hiro Toshio, *Yün-kang, the Buddhist Cave-Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China* (Kyoto: Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, Kyoto University, 1951–56), 3, 1 (text): 98; Yang Hong, “Shi-lun Nanbeichao qianqi fojiaoxiang fushi de zhuyao bianhua (Some major changes in the costume of the Buddhist sculpture of the early Southern and Northern dynasties),” *Kaogu* 1963, 6: 335–36; Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (New York: Penguin, 1971), 90; Okada Ken and Ishimatsu Hinako, “Chūgoku Nanbokuchō jidai no nyorai zō chakui no kenkyū (jō) (A study of the robes of Buddha images in the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties, part 1),” *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 356 (March 1993): 1–23; Xia Mingcai in *The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology: Celebrated Discoveries from the People’s Republic of China*, ed. Xiaoneng Yang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 441–42.

14. For an extended discussion of sinicization in relation to the Guyang Cave, see chap. 4 of my book, *Ordinary Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

15. Wei Shou, *Weishu* (History of the Wei) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 536; also see Sun Tongxun, *Tuoba shi de Han hua* (Sinicization of the Tuoba) (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue wenxueyuan, 1962), 132; Le Kang, “An Empire for a City” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), 162–63.

16. Jennifer Holmgren, “Empress Dowager Ling of the Northern Wei and the To’pa Sinicization Question,” *Papers on Far Eastern History* 18 (1978): 156–58.

17. For non-Han Liu lineages, see Yao Weiyuan, *Bei chao huxing kao* (Study of Northern dynasties non-Han surnames) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958), 38–52.

18. A similar approach is suggested in Spiro, “Hybrid Vigor.”

19. For the history of the short-lived Daoist kingdom, see Terry F. Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

20. Richard B. Mather, “K’ou Ch’ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy,” in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, ed. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 106.

21. The earliest historical documentation for the site as a Daoist institution, however, dates from the Tang dynasty. See Livia Kohn, “Yin Xi: The Master at the Beginning of the Scripture,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 25 (1997): 83–139; Kohn draws extensively on Zhang Weiling, “Guanling Yin Xi shenhua yanjiu (Research on the deification of the Guardian of the Pass Yin Xi),” *Daojiao xue tansuo* 3 (1990): 21–74, and Zhang Weiling, “Beichao zhi qian Louguan daojiao xiuxingfa de lishi

(Historical investigation of Guan Daoist practices during the Northern dynasties and earlier),” *Daojiao xue tansuo* 4 (1991): 67–117.

22. Field Museum of Natural History FMNH 121385. Purchased by Bernard Laufer in Xi’an during the Blackstone Expedition, 1909–10. Published in Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 2:pl. 130a–b; and Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron*, 2:pl. 130; rubbing no. 356 in Field Museum of Natural History, *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from Field Museum* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1981), 95.

23. The object held by Daoist deities is most often identified as a *zhuwei*, but the form of the object varies and the accuracy of this identification needs further study. See Liu Yang, “Manifestation of the Dao: A Study in Daoist Art from the Northern Dynasty to the Tang (5th–9th Centuries)” (Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997), 160–62.

24. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 1:33; Field Museum, *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings*, 95.

25. For Dengxian, see Annette L. Juliano, *Teng-hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1980), figs. 54–55 and 130. For a discussion of the costume of Daoist deities and the relation to contemporary Daoist dress, see Liu Yang, “Manifestation of the Dao,” 158–60.

26. Special thanks to Stephen Bokenkamp for his assistance in identifying these names. The colophons on the far edges of the stele identify members of the Feng lineage as *menshi*, the title of a Daoist official that we will encounter on other Daoist stelae.

27. It was Zhang Yan who immediately recognized the stylistic relation to works from Yaowangshan when I introduced the Feng Chang stele to her in September 1993.

28. Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, “Yaoxian Yaowangshan de daojiao zaixiangbei (Daoist stelae from Yaoxian Yaowangshan),” *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 1987, 3:20, figs. 2, 4–5; Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, *Beichao fodao zaixiangbei jingxuan* (Selected Northern dynasties Buddhist and Daoist stelae) (Tianjin: Tianjin Chubanshe, 1996), 58–62.

29. Yao Sheng, “Yaoxian shike wenzi luezhi (Notes on the carved stone inscriptions of Yaoxian, Shaanxi),” *Kaogu* 1965, 3:fig. 2.2; Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, “Yaoxian Yaowangshan fojiao zaixiangbei (Buddhist stelae from Yaoxian Yaowangshan),” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1996, 2:13–14.

30. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 1:34.

31. For the Guo Lusheng stele, see Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, “Yaoxian Yaowangshan fojiao zaixiangbei,” 13.



32. Field Museum of Natural History FMNH 121396. Purchased by Bernard Laufer in Xi'an during the Blackstone Expedition, 1909–10. Published in Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 2:pl. 123b, and Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron*, 2:pl. 101; rubbing no. 376 in Field Museum, *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings*, 99.

33. There is no record of Fu as a non-Han name in Yao Weiyuan, *Bei chao huxing kao*.

34. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi ron*, 1:256. Field Museum records, however, state that the work was uncovered at the site of a temple, Liangjingsi 涼經寺, some five kilometers southwest of Chang'an. We are reminded that works of sculpture were portable, and neither findspots nor place names in the inscription, which only indicates where the donor came from, are absolute evidence of the place of manufacture.

35. For *nanguan* as a priest, see Jan Fontein, "Inscriptions on Taoist Statues," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology: Section of History of Arts* (Taipei: Chung Yang Yen Chiu Yuan, 1981), 95; and Kamitsuka Toshiko, "Nanbokuchō jidai no dokyozo (Daoist images of the Northern-Southern dynasties)," in *Chūgoku chusei no bumbutsu* (Culture of the medieval period in China), ed. Tonami Mamoru (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1993), 246. Special thanks to Koizumi Yoshihide and Matsumoto Nobuyuki of the Tokyo National Museum for the reference to Kamizuka. Also see Livia Kohn's abbreviated English version of the same essay: Yoshiko Kamitsuka, "Lao-tzu in Six Dynasties Taoist Sculpture," in *Lao-tzu and the Tao-te-ching*, ed. Livia Kohn and Michael LaFargue (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1998), 71–72. The female equivalent, *nūguan*, is also known and was combined with *daomin* in a Daoist work dated to 528. See Anna Seidel, "Le sutra merveilleux du Ling-pao suprême, traité de Lao Tseu qui convertit les barbares (le manuscrit S. 2081)," in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang*, ed. Michel Soymié (Paris: École Française d'extrême-orient, 1984), 333, n. 118 and pls. LV–LVI. Although *daomin* identifies a lay follower, Seidel identifies *nūguan* as a priestess. An alternative reading is that *nanguan/nūguan* identify lay initiates. See Kristofer M. Schipper, "Taoist Ordination Ranks in the Tunhuang Manuscripts," in *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien. Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Gert Naundorf, Karl-Heinz Pohl, and Hans-Hermann Schmidt (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1985), 132, n. 31.

36. For an early example, see *Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經, no. 453 in Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaikyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–35). The text describes how Maitreya Buddha will teach at the three assemblies under the dragon-flower tree after descending to earth. See Yu-Min Lee, "The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1983), 22–24. Although conventionally understood as a translation by

Dharmarakṣa or Fahu 法護 (ca. 230–308), the *Mile xiasheng jing* is a reproduction of a part of the *Ekottarāgamasūtra* translated by Saighadheva. See Daniel J. Boucher, "Buddhist Translation Procedures in Third-Century China: A Study of Dharmarakṣa and His Translation Idiom" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 279–80. For an example of late fifth-century monastic beliefs in Maitreya and the three assemblies under the dragon-flower tree, see Lee, "Maitreya Cult," 58–60, and Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959), 63–64.

37. See, for example, Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 1:li.

38. Five Northern Wei examples are housed in the Lintong Museum. See Lintong Xi'an Bowuguan and Zhao Kangmin, "Shaanxi Lintong de beichao zaoxiangbei," *Wenwu* 1985, 4:15–26.

39. Liu Shufen, "Wu zhi liu shiji huabei xiangcun de fojiao xinyang (Buddhist practice in rural north China during the fifth and sixth centuries)," *Zhongyuan yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 63.3 (1993): 497–544; Dorothy C. Wong, "The Beginnings of the Buddhist Stele Tradition in China" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995), 245–46.

40. Translated in Liu, "Manifestation of the Dao," 117, from the stele identified as that of Wang Shenjie 王神杰, dated to 518. The same work is called the Wang Shouling 王守令 stele and dated to the Shengui 神龜 regnal era (518–520) in Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, *Beichao fodao*, 129–31.

41. Discovered in 1798. See Lintong Xi'an Bowuguan and Zhao Kangmin, "Shaanxi Lintong," 15–20, figs. 1–5; Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, *Beichao fodao*, 50–57, 127–28.

42. Also referred to as *yiyi* or *fayi* 法義. See Kyoko Tokuno, "A Case Study of Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha: The *Hsiang-Fa Chueh-I Ching*" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1983), 33–36. Tokuno bases her discussion on the inscriptions recorded in Ōmura Seigai, *Shina bijutsu shi chōso hen* (History of Chinese art, sculpture volume), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai zuzōbu, 1915), 187–244, which lists nineteen examples of inscriptions by such associations. For other discussions of inscriptions by *yiyi*, see Tsukanoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyō shi kenkyū*, *Hokugi hen* (Research on the history of Chinese Buddhism, Northern Wei volume) (Tokyo: Kōbundō shobō, 1942), 489–504, and Sato Chisui, "Hokucho zozo mei ko (Consideration of Northern Period image inscriptions)," *Shigaku zasshi* 86 (1977): 1–47. For a broader discussion of *yiyi* and *she*-type Buddhist associations, see Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 259–77.

43. For *lusheng*, see Kamizuka Toshiko, "Nanbokuchō," 248–49, 286, n. 27. Alternatively, Schipper, "Taoist Ordination

Ranks,” 129–32, translates the term as a youthful “novice of the register.”

44. The Lintong Xi'an Bowuguan publication (see n. 38) lists all of the icons on the stele as Buddhist. Previously, I had suggested that the Feng stele represented a conscious hybrid donation by a Buddhist-Daoist association. See Stanley K. Abe, “Northern Wei Daoist Sculpture from Shaanxi Province,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996–97): 80.

45. For the story, see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 290–99. Also see Seidel, “Le sutra merveilleux,” 325–28.

46. Stephen R. Bokenkamp, “The Yao Boduo Stele as Evidence for the Dao-Buddhism of the Early Lingbao Scriptures,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1997): 65–66. For more on the Lingbao approach, see Stephen R. Bokenkamp, “Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures,” *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 21 (1983): 461–76.

47. Field Museum of Natural History FMNH 121420. Purchased by Bernard Laufer in Xi'an during the Blackstone Expedition, 1909–10. Jean James states that the work has two dates, 414 and 564, and argues for the former. See “Some Iconographic Problems,” 72. The 414 date is followed in Wong, “Beginnings,” 24. I have, however, been unable to discern two dates on the work or a way in which the regnal date could be read to correspond to 414. The date of the work has been published as 506 in Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 2:pl. 129b; Matsubara, “Hoku-Gi no Fukuken yoshiki,” fig. 1; and rubbing no. 387 in Field Museum, *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings*, 102.

48. See Tan Qixiang, ed., *Zhongguo lishi dituji* (Historical atlas of China), 7 vols. (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), 4:55. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 1:33, states that Wang Yi was a native of Chang'an, but the basis for this assertion is not clear.

49. Height: 137 centimeters. See Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, “Yaoxian Yaowangshan de daojiang,” 18 and 19, figs. 1–4; and Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, *Beichao fodao*, 9–38 and 125–26; also discussed in Abe, “Northern Wei Daoist Sculpture,” 71–73. Although well known, the Yao Boduo stele has been inexplicably omitted in some recent discussions of Daoist sculpture, for example Li Song, “Shaanxi beichao daojiang diaoke (Northern Dynasty Daoist statues in Shaanxi),” *Yishuxue* 6 (September 1991): 7–32; also Jin Weinuo, *Zhongguo zongjiao meishu shi* (China's religious fine arts history) (Nanchang: Jiangxi meishu chubanshe, 1995), 123–26.

50. For an early publication of some of the Yaowangshan stelae, see Shi Zhangru, “Shaanxi Yaoxian de beilin yu shiku (Cave temples and the forest of stelae at Yaoxian, Shaanxi),” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 14 (1953): 145–72. Thanks to Dorothy Wong for this reference. For an over-

view, see Zhang Yan, “Chūgoku Sensei sho Yoken no hirin (A group of stone monuments located at Yaoxian in Shaanxi province, China) (parts 1 and 2),” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 205 (December 1992): 77–89 and 211 (December 1993): 101–23. For a more detailed discussion of the Yaowangshan stelae, see chap. 5 of my book *Ordinary Images*.

51. For the Qiang, see Zhang Yan, “Chūgoku Sensei sho (part 2),” 105.

52. Kamitsuka, “Lao-tzu,” 75.

53. Bokenkamp, “Yao Boduo Stele,” 60–65.

54. Stephen R. Bokenkamp, “The Salvation of Laozi: Images of the Sage in the Lingbao Scriptures, the Ge Xuan Preface, and the ‘Yao Boduo Stele’ of 496 C.E.,” forthcoming in the festschrift for Professor Liu Ts'un-yan edited by Chen Man Sing, University of Hong Kong Press. Special thanks to Stephen Bokenkamp for sharing his manuscript in progress.

55. Bokenkamp, “Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures,” 435.

56. Liu, “Manifestations of the Dao,” 114–16; Liu Zhaorui, “Bei-Wei Yao Boduo daojiang zaoxiangbei kaolun (Discussion of the Northern Wei Daoist stele of Yao Boduo),” in *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* (Research on Daoist culture), ed. Chen Guying (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), 9:311–15.

57. Mather, “K'ou Ch'ien-chih,” 110–11.

58. As translated in Bokenkamp, “Yao Boduo Stele,” 67, n. 37. The passage can be found transcribed in Kamizuka Toshiko, “Nanbokucho,” 251.

59. This section begins in line eleven of the inscription on the front face, directly following the statement that the image is of Huang Laojun. Thanks to Stephen Bokenkamp for the translation.

60. Height: 119 centimeters. For early summaries of the inscription, see Yao Sheng, “Yaoxian shike wenzi luezhì,” 134, followed by Li Song, “Bei-Wei Wei Wenlang zaoxiangbei kaobu (Supplementary study of the Northern Wei Wei Wenlang stele),” *Wenbo* 1994, 1:52. For complete transcriptions, see Hamasaki Michiko, “Seian-sho Yo-ken Yo'osan Yo-ken hirin (Shaanxi Yaoxian Yaowangshan, Yaoxian forest of stelae),” *Sumi* 86 (September/October 1990): 106, and Sato Chisui, “Senseishō Yōken no Hokugi zōzōhi ni tsuite (Regarding the Northern Wei image stele at Yaoxian, Shaanxi province),” in *Shiranshu, Yoshinami Takashi sensei taikan kinen ronshū* (A Noble Gathering, Festschrift in honor of the retirement of Professor Yoshinami Takashi), ed. Shiranshū henshū i-inkai (Okayama: Shiranshū henshū i-inkai, 1999), 254–83. Special thanks to Ishimatsu Hinako for providing me with the latter two essays.



61. Identified as a Buddhist stele in Zhang Yan, "Chūgoku Sensei sho (part 2)," 115. Previously I speculated on the possible combination of the three images on each side and the two on the rear forming a set of eight Buddhas, possibly the seven Buddhas of the past plus Maitreya as a Buddha. But such an iconographic reading fails to account for the main image and the unusual row of five Buddhas on the front. Abe, "Northern Wei Daoist Sculpture," 78.

62. Height: 100 centimeters. Listed as Yang Xiangshao 楊向紹 in Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, "Yaoxian Yaowangshan de daojiào," 18, 26 and fig. 1, 6.

63. For rubbings and a transcription, see Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, *Beichao Fodao*, 44 and 127.

64. Bokenkamp, "Yao Boduo Stele," 57, n. 36.

65. Height: 90 centimeters. Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, "Yaoxian Yaowangshan de daojiào," 18, 26 and fig. 1, 5; Zhang Yan and Zhao Chao, *Beichao fodao*, 47–49, 127.

66. Both images are described as Daoist in Han Wei and Yin Zhiyi, "Yaoxian Yaowangshan de daojiào," 18.

67. Arguably the most influential translation was by Kumarajiva (344–413). See the English translation by Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976). For a Buddhist example of the paired figures, see the main image niche of Dunhuang Mogao Cave 259, probably of the 470s or 480s, in Tonkō bunbutsu kenkyūjo, eds., *Tonkō Bakukokutsu* (Mogao caves of Dunhuang), 5 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980–82), 1:pl. 20. For the relation to the *Lotus Sutra*, see J. Leroy Davidson, *The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art: A Study in Buddhist Art to the Year 1000* (New Haven: Yale University, 1954).

68. Bokenkamp, "Yao Boduo Stele," 66.

69. Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao diaosu* (Wei Jin Northern and Southern dynasties sculpture) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), no. 72; rubbings reproduced in Zhang Hongxiu, *Beichao shike yishu* (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 1993), no. 10.

70. Wudu probably refers to the Northern Wei Wudu jun, located some 140 kilometers east of Chang'an. See Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, 55.

71. Erik Zürcher, "Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Buddhism," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1982, 2:161–76.

72. For example, see the edicts dated to 472, 486, and 517 in the *Weishu Shilaozhi* 魏書釋老志, translated in Wei Shou 魏收, *Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism*, Leon Hurvitz, trans., Japanese annotation by Tsukamoto Zenryū (Kyoto: Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, 1956), 75–76, 79–80, 89–91. Also discussed in James O. Caswell, *Written and Unwritten: A New History of the Buddhist Caves at Yungang* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 23–25.

73. Ishimatsu Hinako, "'Gibunro zuzohi' no nendai ni tsuite (Regarding the date of the Wei Wenlang stele)," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 240 (September 1998): 13–32.

74. Ishimatsu Hinako, "'Gibunro zuzohi,'" 21–22, 32, n. 14, cites the Tang text *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 by Li Jifu 李吉甫 dated to 813. She does not note the date for the establishment of Sanyuan xian of 446 recorded in the *Bei Zhou dilizhi*. See Wang Zhongluo, *Bei Zhou dilizhi*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 1:28.

## *Origins of Daoist Iconography*

### ABSTRACT

It has been commonly thought that the origins of early Daoist imagery in sculpture lay in Buddhist art and that Daoist art became fashionable during the Northern Wei dynasty when confronted by the competition of the foreign faith of Buddhism. By investigating a group of Daoist stelae executed for domestic shrines during the fifth to sixth centuries and by surveying the development of a particular type of divine imagery from the Western Han to the Wei-Jin periods (second century B.C.–fourth century A.D.), this essay argues that the origins of Daoist iconography are deeply rooted in traditional Chinese representations of divinities. The essay also demonstrates that a significant impetus to the evolution of earlier Daoist icons was provided by the specific needs of Daoist religious practices, in addition to social factors and the impact of Buddhist art.



FIG. 1 (NEAR RIGHT).

*Ink rubbing of a Daoist stele with Tianzun, dedicated by daoshi Zhang Xiangdui, dated A.D. 513, height 67 cm, width 53 cm (after Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō, 30)*

FIG. 2 (FAR RIGHT).

*Daoist stele, dedicated by Gai family, dated A.D. 515, height 43.5 cm, width 20 cm, Osaka Municipal Museum of Art (after Matsubara, Chūgoku bukkyō, pl. 60-b).*

FIG. 3 (NEAR RIGHT BELOW).

*Daoist stele, dated to second decade of sixth century, height 47 cm, width 46.5 cm, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln (after Ashton, Introduction, pl. 23-1).*

FIG. 4 (FAR RIGHT BELOW).

*Daoist stele, dated A.D. 506, height 52 cm, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (after Sirén, Chinese Sculpture, pl. 128-a).*





THE ORIGINS OF THE IMAGERY in Daoist sculptures of the Northern Dynasties period (A.D. 439–581) are commonly thought to lie in the Buddhist art prevalent in China when Daoist votive stelae became popular. I argue here, however, that early Daoist sculpture is not simply derived from Buddhist art but is deeply rooted in traditional Chinese representations of divinities. By investigating a group of Daoist stelae executed for domestic shrines during the Northern Dynasties and then surveying the development of a particular type of divine imagery from the Han dynasty to the Wei-Jin period (second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.), I demonstrate that Daoist sculpture of the early sixth century was influenced by earlier religious and artistic practices. I subsequently propose that a significant impetus to the evolution of early Daoist icons was provided by the specific needs of Daoist religious practices, in addition to social factors and the impact of Buddhist art.

The Daoist sculptures discussed here are mainly from the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), though one example from the succeeding Northern Zhou period (557–581) is also considered. As the inscriptions on extant or recorded works show, almost all Daoist stelae of the Northern Dynasties represent Laojun 老君 (Venerable Lord, or the deified Laozi 老子) or Taishang 太上 Laojun (Highest Venerable Lord) as well as Tianzun 天尊 (Heavenly Worthy).<sup>1</sup> Most of these works were made in present-day Shaanxi province and the surrounding area—a fact that may be explained in several ways. First of all, from the beginning of the fifth century this region was dominated by the so-called Xin Tianshi Dao 新天師道, or New Celestial Daoist sect, under the leadership of Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之.<sup>2</sup> The influence of Daoism is strong in Fengyi 馮翊 (in present-day Lintong), near modern Xi'an, where Kou was born. According to official historical accounts, in 425 Emperor Taiwu 太武 of the Northern Wei (r. A.D. 424–452) invited Kou and his disciples from Mt. Song to live at the capital, performing rites and prayers at the prescribed hours every day. Kou later convinced the emperor to establish Daoism as the state religion. In 431, altars and officiating priests were set up in every provincial seat to supervise local practices. In 439, Kou Qianzhi persuaded the

emperor to adopt the title *Taiping zhenjun* 太平真君, or Perfect Ruler of Great Peace, for the regnal period 440 to 451. In 440 a magnificent five-story altar was built southeast of the city under Kou's direction. A spectacular religious ceremony followed by a special amnesty inaugurated this new reign.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to Kou Qianzhi and his followers in the capital, another Daoist school flourished somewhat later in Louguan, near Chang'an (in present-day Xi'an). Known as the Louguan Dao 樓觀道 (Way of the Louguan), this school may also have been influenced by Kou Qianzhi. Louguan was traditionally thought to be where Yin Xi 尹喜, who witnessed Laozi's departure from China and asked him to write a book on his philosophy entitled *Daodejing* 道德經 (Scripture of the Dao and the virtue), built a multistoried building (*lou* 樓) by "knotting grass." Later, when a temple was erected there, it took its name from his structure. During the Northern Dynasties, Louguan was the center of Daoism in the northeast, attracting novices and adepts from the Wei River valley in the vicinity of Chang'an.

In this period southern China was under the influence of the Lingbao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure) sect and of Shangqing 上清 Daoism, a sect that took its name from the highest of three heavens where its gods dwelt—the Realm of Clarity. Originally competing with the foreign faith of Buddhism, these sects quickly gained adherents among the Chinese elite in the south, many of whom had recently moved from the north to escape the threat of conquest by non-Chinese peoples. The new schools combined the Daoism of the northern capitals with the local shamanistic cults of the south.<sup>4</sup> The practice of using images in sacrificial or devotional ceremonies also became popular.<sup>5</sup> The interaction between southern and northern Daoism may have left an imprint on the general activity in religion and art in northern China, as discussed below.

#### DAOIST STELAE OF THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES

Almost all the Daoist sculptures still extant from the Northern Dynasties are stelae, and these consist of two distinct types: one monumental, the other quite



small. The two types differ not only in size and form but also in iconography and religious function. A large-scale stele was normally commissioned by a group of donors from a clan or commune. It served as a divine image to intercede with a god for blessings, a symbolic encouragement to desired ritual behavior, and a pictorial guide to help illiterate adherents in communal religious practices. Such stelae were thus always erected on roadsides or in other public places. The smaller-scale domestic stelae, which are the focus of this study, were generally dedicated by families and accommodated in domestic shrines as aids in personal worship.<sup>6</sup>

The most characteristic early specimens of small-scale Daoist stelae are a group of stone works, possibly all from the Shaanxi area, that were executed in the early sixth century. These stelae typically represent a central seated figure with two smaller attendants, all placed against a leaf-shaped background slab or a plain niche decorated with various motifs.

The location of one of these stelae (fig. 1), dating to the second year of Yanchang (A.D. 513), is no longer known, but the essential features of its deity and its decorative pattern in the Northern Wei mode can be determined from an ink squeeze taken by the eminent scholar Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1868–1940).<sup>7</sup> This stele, excavated from Jingyang in Shaanxi province,<sup>8</sup> has a chairlike form, with the deity seated in the center holding a fanlike accessory called *zhuwei* 塵尾 (discussed in detail below) in his right hand. A pair of tall *zhenren* 真人, or “realized beings,” stands on either side. The main figure wears a high cap and traditional Chinese robe fastened around the waist with a girdle. The edges of the sleeves are sharply defined with finely incised curved lines, in contrast with those on the upper part of the robe, where the pleats are broader, gently overlapping from one level to the next. Two dragons interlock near the apex of the stele, their tails framing the head of the deity. Small circular emblems above the dragons’ heads on either side probably represent the sun and moon or heavenly constellations. The top outer edge of the leaf-shaped slab is decorated with flame motifs rising to a pointed top. At the base, two standing donors flank a large *boshan* 博山 incense burner. Below is an inscription identifying the stele as having been com-

missioned by the *daoshi* 道士, or Daoist practitioner, Zhang Xiangdui 張相隊 and his family and as representing Tianzun. The figure is a refined example of Northern Wei craftsmanship, with delicately carved drapery. One notable feature of this stele is its use of contrast, as in the shape of Tianzun’s sleeves versus those of the attendants or the crowded incised lines versus the broad overlapping pleats.

In another stele (fig. 2), dating to the fourth year of Yanchang (515), a figure is seated against a leaf-shaped slab, which is decorated with scroll motifs rising to a point.<sup>9</sup> He wears a cap and robe with large triangular sleeves falling over the front of the seat to form two pennants. He is depicted with a moustache, and his raised right hand holds a small *zhuwei*. His eyebrows are delineated with a fine incised line. On either side are two adoring figures in secular costume. Dragons coil above the deity with their heads turned back and upward, accompanied by two small circular wheel-like emblems reminiscent of the traditional decorative motifs on late Zhou bronze vessels.<sup>10</sup> The front of the base is decorated with a *boshan* incense burner and two donors, with five incised names referring to the Gai 蓋 family discernible beside them. No special information about the origin of this stele is currently available. I include it with the Shaanxi group because it has certain features in common with the statues discussed here and nothing that would justify separate classification.

A third stele could be included in this group as its differences from the other two are minor (fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> Leigh Ashton infers from the term *Yongkang* 永康 in the inscription that “the possible year is A.D. 464,”<sup>12</sup> yet the manner of the script suggests that the inscription is later. Stylistically, this statue is so similar to those described above that they could well have come from the same workshop. The modeling of the head and hands, the lines of the drapery, the treatment of the sleeves, the decorative motifs on the leaf-shaped slab (serpentine dragons, medallions) are almost identical. Hence, this stele must have come from the area of modern Shaanxi province and date to the second decade of the sixth century.

Another image, with a partially broken back slab, also has the characteristic three-figure configuration (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> A deity with a *zhuwei* in his right hand sits



FIG. 5 (FAR LEFT).  
*Daoist stele, dated A.D. 521, height 43 cm, private U.S. collection (after Sirén, Chinese Sculpture, pl. 128-a).*



FIG. 6 (NEAR LEFT).  
*Daoist stele, dated to early sixth century, height 38 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (after Sirén, Chinese Sculpture, pl. 125-a).*

flanked by two smaller attendants, all three on a stepped platform whose topmost level extends to either side and is supported by two monsters. Despite damage to the background slab, the herringbone pattern of two dragon tails is visible next to the heads of the attendants. According to its inscription, the stele was made in A.D. 506.<sup>14</sup> Significantly, the dress of its figures shows marked stylistic differences from those of a later date. The robes are trimmed along the hems, and the sleeves are wide but smaller in comparison to the voluminous Chinese-style robe that was becoming fashionable in the north. The attendants wear a tight-sleeved short overcoat with trousers beneath it, akin to the traditional dress of the Wei Tartars. These garments could be regarded as marking a transitional style following on the voluminous Chinese-style robe; stylistically, they link the traditional dress of the Wei Tartars, the so-called *kuzhe* 袴褶, and the Chinese style of *baoyi bodai* 褒衣博帶.<sup>15</sup>

Another type of stele is generally carved with a broad niche on the front that contains a seated deity flanked by two standing attendants, against a blank

background. One such stele, formerly in a Japanese collection but now in the U.S., is dated to the first year of Zhengguang, or 521 (fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> A deity seated within a shallow pointed-arch niche is flanked by two standing attendants with hands raised as in adoration. The figure wears a cap and robe that opens at the neck to show the rounded collar of an undergarment. His eyebrows are delineated with a fine incised line like those of the Gai family figure. As usual, he holds a *zhuwei* in his right hand, and he touches his right foot with his left hand. The drapery is tucked in around the knees and forms a series of concentric pleats, like ripples on water, a method greatly favored in Northern Wei figural execution. At the top, between the usual serpentine dragons, are two medallions, one with a toad clearly inscribed in it. These undoubtedly represent the sun and moon, as do the wheel-like emblems on the stele of 513 described above.

In another example of this type (fig. 6),<sup>17</sup> the deity, seated on a platform under a Chinese-style tiled-roof niche, wears a cap and holds a *zhuwei* in





FIG. 7.  
*Daoist stele with Laojun, dated A.D. 567, white marble, height 25–30 cm, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (photo author).*

the right hand. He is flanked by two attendants. Although no date can be detected, his sleeves, which fall in winglike folds over the pedestal, are a distinctive characteristic of the early drapery style in Shaanxi. Two medallions appear on either side of the upper part. Below the niche, to the right, are two donors in adoring attitudes.

A third example has a rather later date—the second year of Tainhe (567) in the Northern Zhou dynasty (fig. 7). The front niche is enclosed by a rectangle in which the upper frame forms a finely carved canopy consisting of a row of lotus petal patterns, followed by a double-chevron pattern, then by a pleated silk design, and finally a looped curtain. Each edge of the rectangle is decorated with tassels; pearls and *bi* 璧 discs hang from the ends of the canopy.<sup>18</sup> The square niche again con-

tains a deity flanked by two attendants. The presentation of the central figure, capped, bearded, with raised right hand holding a *zhuwei*, closely resembles those discussed above, differing only in the addition of a three-legged armrest (*yingji* 隱几) on which the figure leans. This is typical of the iconography of Daoist images in the Northern Qi (550–577) and Northern Zhou periods. The deity is backed by a double nimbus consisting of a round halo decorated with an engraved floral pattern and an ovoid aureole. His throne rests atop a very high pillar, like those in the Xi Wangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) scenes of the late Han (first–second century A.D.). An incense burner is carved in low relief on this plain throne base. On each side stands an attendant holding a *hu* 笏 tablet. Below are two squatting lions with their heads turning outward.

The identification of the deity in this stele as Laojun, inferred from his iconography, is confirmed by the inscription: “In the nineteenth day of the sixth moon of the second year of Tainhe (567), *daomin* Zhi Yuanzun made a Laojun image, for the benefit of his late parents.” The title *daomin* 道民, or Daoist layman, commonly used by Daoist disciples in the Northern Dynasties period, differs significantly from that used by Buddhist adherents (*fodizi* 佛弟子). *Daomin* may have become the special name for Daoist disciples during the Jin dynasty (A.D. 265–420),<sup>19</sup> given that the author of one extant Jin document, “Xie Taifu tie 謝太傅帖 (A note by Xie Taifu),” called himself *daomin*.<sup>20</sup> The term later became popular and is found throughout the writings of Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (A.D. 406–477), a great southern Daoist master.<sup>21</sup> In the north, Kou Qianzhi, working to convert the unpredictable dynamism of primitive Daoism into an established church in the early fifth century, required his disciples only to name themselves *daomin*, as we read in *Laojun yinsong jiejing* 老君音誦誡經 (The orally recited classic of prohibition of Laojun), a compendium of the revelations that the Taishang Laojun bestowed upon the Celestial Master Kou in 415.<sup>22</sup>

All these stelae usually consist of three figures, placed in a flat niche or simply in relief against a background slab, which is framed at the top by

intertwined serpentine dragons. The large figure in the middle, seated with legs crossed or tucked under him, has a tall cap on his head, holds a *zhuwei* in one hand, with the other hand held in various positions, and sometimes leans on a *yinji*. The side figures, smaller and often roughly executed, again wear tall caps and stand in secular costume with arms folded. The spaces around the background slab or niche are filled with accessory ornaments, frequently including circular emblems, which in some cases contain a bird or toad, indicating that they represent the sun and moon. Similar iconography appears on a number of monumental stelae executed during the fifth and sixth centuries. The earliest known extant stele associated with such iconography dates to the first year of Shiguang (424) by inscription.<sup>23</sup> On the front of that stele, a Daoist deity and the Buddha Sakyamuni sit side by side inside a shallow niche (fig. 8). The Daoist figure on viewers' left wears a Han-style robe with long sleeves. His raised right hand holds a *zhuwei*.

Such scholars as Osvald Sirén and Matsubara Saburō maintain that Daoists used Buddhist iconography, adapting it to their own purposes when they made religious images: "The Daoists tried to make up for their want of a specific iconography by borrowing from the Buddhists."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, later scholars propose that Daoist sculpture was influenced by Buddhist models of the same period, which were crude imitations of their Indian prototypes. Jean M. James comments, "Carvers of Daoist images borrowed freely from Buddhist works";<sup>25</sup> Yoshiko Kamitsuka remarks, "Taoist steles and images, it seems, were thus primarily an offshoot of Buddhist sculptural activity in the North."<sup>26</sup> Wu Hung asserts that Daoists used Buddhist iconography in the design of the large figures carved in cliffs at Mount Kongwang in Jiangsu, which date to the second and third centuries A.D.<sup>27</sup> I believe such views represent an oversimplification.

It is true that there is ample evidence for an intermingling of Daoist and Buddhist ideas and imagery in the sculptures of the Northern Dynasties, whether products of the interaction between Daoist and Buddhist texts or of the influence of Buddhist images on Daoist types, or indeed that of

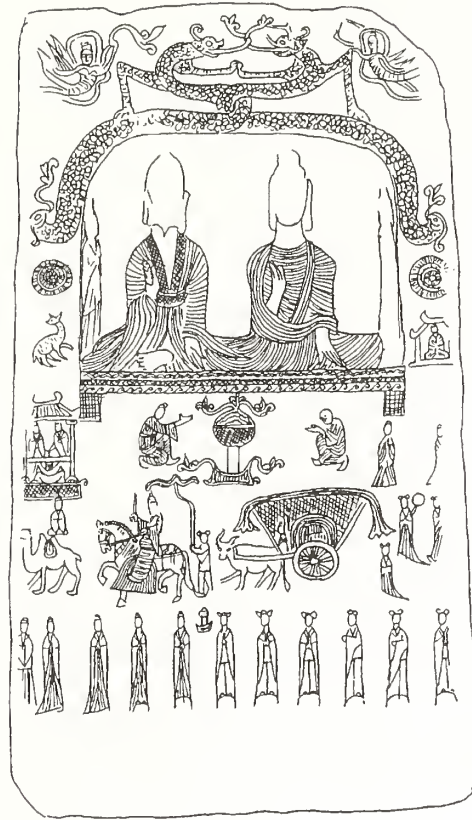


FIG. 8.  
Line drawing of the front side of Buddhist/Daoist stele dedicated by Wei Wenlang family, dated A.D. 424, height 131 cm, width 72–66 cm, Yaoxian Museum, Yaoxian, Shaanxi.

Daoist images on Buddhist types. Yet the typical Daoist icons of the period, examined above, did not generally correspond in either configuration or iconography to any known examples of Buddhist art in or beyond China, least of all to Buddhist images from India.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, these sculptures were essentially made in accordance with prevailing religious iconography and hence lack signs of individual creativity. Although there are minor differences among them, the forms are still dictated by an overriding artistic concept. Parallels among images of different periods, places, and artistic conventions suggest that their designers or carvers were following an iconographic formula or an earlier prototype.

#### DIVINE IMAGERY FROM THE HAN TO THE WEI-JIN

Tracing the early development of a particular form of divine imagery from the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) to the Wei-Jin period (A.D. 220–420) will clarify the



FIG. 9.

*Line drawings of the jade figure unearthed from the tomb of Prince Liu Sheng at Mancheng in Hebei, late second century B.C. (after Institute of Archaeology and Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau, Mancheng hanmu, 140, fig. 98).*

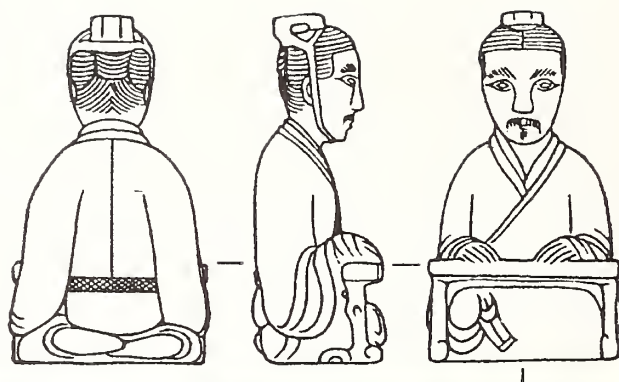


FIG. 10 (NEAR RIGHT).

*Stone statue of the Herdsman, height 258 cm, late second century B.C. (after Zhongguo meishu quanji, 2:pl. 34).*



FIG. 11 (FAR RIGHT).

*Stone statue of the Weaver-girl, height 228 cm, late second century B.C. (after Zhongguo meishu quanji, 2:pl. 35).*

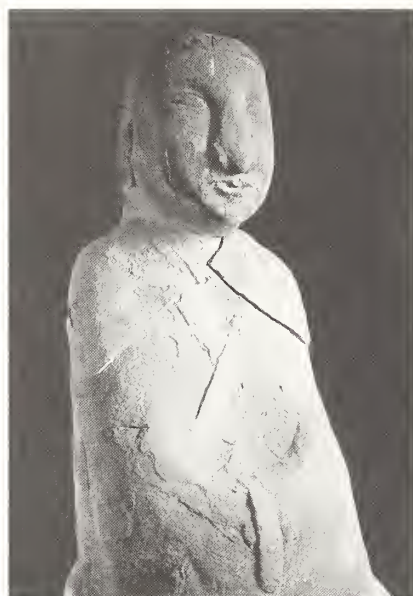


FIG. 12 (NEAR RIGHT).

*Stone statue of male figure, height 174 cm, early second century B.C. (after Wenwu 1988, 5:91, fig. 1).*



FIG. 13 (FAR RIGHT).

*Stone statue of female figure, height 160 cm, early second century B.C. (after Wenwu 1988, 5:91, fig. 2).*



vexed question of the origins of Daoist iconography. During the Han dynasty, in Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Shaanxi, Henan, and perhaps all over China, a fairly uniform pictorial vocabulary was employed in divine art relating to the worship of transcendent beings, immortals, sacrifice to Shangdi 上帝 (Lord on High), and service to the dead. The origins of Daoist iconography can be detected in the following examples.

A small jade figure excavated in 1968 from the tomb of Prince Liu Sheng 劉勝 at Mancheng in Hebei can be dated to at least as early as 113 B.C., the year of Liu's death (fig. 9).<sup>29</sup> The figure is seated *en face* with his legs tucked up under him (*jizuo* 跏坐) and hands leaning on a *ji* 几. On its base the figure bears the following inscription: "In virtue of the Old Jade Man, the Lord will extend life by nineteen years." This jade is unusual in its original location in the tomb (inside the coffin), its imposing frontal pose and iconography, and its accompanying inscription. The "jade suits" that encased the prince and his consort and were believed to prevent the decay of corpses have also been unearthed. Among a large number of other treasures from this tomb are a magnificent *boshan* incense burner, which has been construed as representing an intermediary realm between heaven and this world, and a pair of bronze vessels with an inscription that reads: "May you have long life without illness; may you have ten thousand years." All these factors suggest that the jade figure was a sacred deity with talismanic powers who would protect the prince and princess from decay and assure their journey to immortality.<sup>30</sup> If such an inference is valid, we can say that iconographically this figure greatly resembles a god and may have been copied from the large image of the supreme deity used in sacrificial ceremonies.<sup>31</sup>

In Chinese theology, a single supreme power, Shangdi or Lord on High, was accompanied by a multiplicity of lesser gods who could be worshipped simultaneously for different purposes. Two constellations were worshipped during the Han, principally by women, to assist them in the art of decorative floral needlework: the Herdsman (*niulang* 牛郎) and the Weaver-girl (*zhinu* 織女).<sup>32</sup> A pair of huge statues resembling the two divinities is still

preserved in Chang'an county, Shaanxi province.<sup>33</sup> One, though seriously worn and damaged, obviously represents the deity seated frontally with his head apparently turned to the right (fig. 10). A better idea of the figurative format can be gleaned from the figure of the seated goddess, who conceals her hands inside long, wide sleeves (fig. 11). Scholars have concluded that the pair of sculptures may have been commissioned in 120 B.C., when Emperor Wudi 武帝 (r. 140–87 B.C.) commissioned a man-made lake, the Kunmingchi in Shanglin Park.<sup>34</sup> The statues were probably erected on the lakeside, as Ban Gu 班固 (A.D. 32–92) recounts in *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han dynasty).<sup>35</sup>

In addition, China has a strong tradition of using ancestral images in sacrificial and devotional ceremonies. A pair of over-life-size stone statues was excavated in 1985 at the village of Xiaoanshe 小安舍, near Shijiazhuang in Hebei. The male (fig. 12) and female (fig. 13) figures are seated in *jizuo* posture, *en face*, with hands raised touching their breasts.<sup>36</sup> Their proportions are distorted, with big heads on relatively small bodies. From a stylistic point of view, the sculptures certainly belong to the early Han period. According to some Chinese scholars,<sup>37</sup> they may be the ancestral images of Zhao Tuo 趙佗, the king of Southern Yue, and his consort, carved at the command of Emperor Wen 文帝 in 179 B.C., when he decreed that their tomb be erected in Zhaolingpu 趙陵鋪, located only 3 kilometers from the village where the sculptures were found.<sup>38</sup> Like the statues of the Herdsman and Weaver-girl, such giant sculptures—huge, frontal, and calm—are intended to portray divine beings that attract attention and command respect or inspire worship.

In *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced discussions), Wang Chong 王充 (A.D. 27–ca. 97) tells the story of Jin Ridi 金日磾, the princely heir of King Xiu Tu 休屠, who went with his mother to submit to the Han. A few years later he achieved the rank of chief commandant of the cavalry. When his mother died, Emperor Wudi ordered her portrait to be painted in the Ganquan Palace with the inscription "Consort of King Xiu Tu."<sup>39</sup> On one occasion Jin Ridi accompanied the emperor to the Ganquan Palace, and as he stood paying his respects, he turned toward the picture and





FIG. 14.  
*Reconstruction of the stone relief from Wuliangci, Jiaxiang, Shandong, showing the story of Jin Ridi (after Feng and Feng, Jinshisuo).*



FIG. 15.  
*Reconstruction of the stone relief from Wuliangci, Jiaxiang, Shandong, showing the story of Ding Lan (after Feng and Feng, Jinshisuo).*

FIG. 16.  
*Drawing of the painting on a lacquer bowl from a tomb at Lelang in Korea, showing Xi Wangmu seated upon a pillar with an attendant, dated A.D. 69 (based on Harada, Lo-Lang, pl. 57).*



FIG. 17.  
*Ink rubbing of a stone relief from Suide, Shaanxi, Eastern Han period (after Zhongguo meishu quanji, 18:fig. 83).*



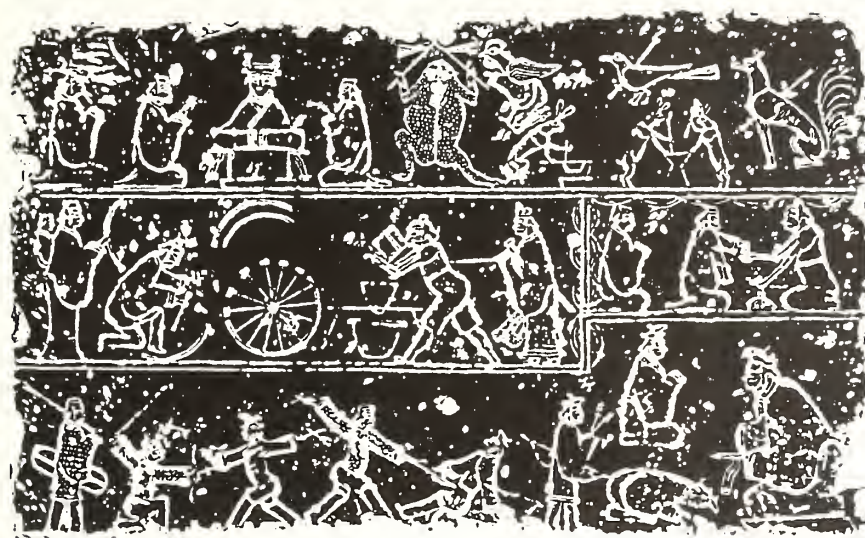


FIG. 18.  
*Ink rubbing of a stone relief  
from Jiaxiang, Shandong,  
Eastern Han period (after  
Zhongguo meishu quanji,  
18:fig. 11).*

started to weep, his tears running down his garment.<sup>40</sup> The scene of Jin facing his mother's portrait is found in *Jinshisuo* 金石索 (An index to bronzes and stone carvings), based on the stone carving of Wuliangci 武梁祠 in Jiaxiang, Shandong.<sup>41</sup> The reproduction shows a portrait sculpture of a woman on the right, with Jin kneeling in front of her on the left to pay homage. She is represented *en face* on a pedestal with her big sleeves resting at the front (fig. 14).<sup>42</sup> Undoubtedly, this posture and attitude are copied from the standard model for offering shrines within the royal family and would closely resemble ancestral portraits in the imperial Ganquan Palace.

Liu Xiang's 劉向 (77–6 B.C.) *Xiaozhi zhuan* 孝子傳 (Biographies of filial sons) and other contemporary or later texts record a story from Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 reign (r. 73–49 B.C.) in which Ding Lan 丁蘭, from Yewang in the Henei district, carved a wooden statue resembling his deceased mother. He treated this effigy as if it were the living embodiment of his mother. If the effigy looked pleased when a neighbor came to borrow something, he would lend it; if she looked displeased, he would not.<sup>43</sup> In Sun Sheng's 孫盛 *Yiren zhuan* 異人傳 (Lives of extraordinary men) the statue represented not the mother but the father of Ding Lan.<sup>44</sup> The *Jinshisuo* contains a similar representation, after stone engravings of the Wuliang offering shrine. In this version, Ding Lan kneels in front of the wooden statue, and his wife kneels behind him.<sup>45</sup> The figure is seated *en face* (in

Ding's view) on a pyramidal pedestal (fig. 15). In position and attitude it is very close to the portrait of Jin Ridi's mother. Considering this story's wide circulation and its many versions, we may conclude that it was common practice to erect statues resembling the deceased and offer sacrifices to them.

During the Han dynasty, the idea of immortality became an avid national concern,<sup>46</sup> and the iconography under discussion found its fullest expression in the representation of immortal beings in many media, including murals, lacquer paintings, stone reliefs, clay tiles, and bronze mirrors. Xi Wangmu, or Queen Mother of the West, a goddess regarded as magically able to confer longevity,<sup>47</sup> and her consort Dong Wanggong 東王公, or King Father of the East, are the most popular deities represented in this art. One of the earliest depictions of Xi Wangmu appears on a painted lacquer bowl, dated A.D. 69, made in Sichuan province and found in a tomb in the Han dynasty colony of Lelang 樂浪 in Korea (fig. 16).<sup>48</sup> She wears a cap and sits facing forward, with a female attendant kneeling at her side on a spotted mat, which rests atop a flat-topped pillar. In a stone relief from Suide 綏德, Shaanxi, Xi Wangmu is depicted seated upon a throne, attended by several figures who present the branch of an herb or plant, which presumably possesses magical properties (fig. 17). A similar scene is represented in the relief from Jiaxiang, Shandong, which shows Xi Wangmu seated with hands leaning on a *ji* (fig. 18).<sup>49</sup>



In Sichuan province, Xi Wangmu is always represented sitting on a seat formed by the bodies of two animals, their heads protruding on both sides like the arms of a chair, accompanied by other attributes. In some examples, there can be no doubt that the seat is formed by a dragon and a tiger. One of the most elaborate is found on a tomb brick from Xinfan 新繁, Sichuan (fig. 19).<sup>50</sup> Here the Queen Mother, accompanied by attendants and worshippers, is seated on a canopied throne with the head of a tiger on her left and the tail of a dragon on her right. This scene is organized in a tight hierarchical structure, like a religious icon. Xi Wangmu also appears on the west gable of the Wuliang offering shrines at Jiexiang, wearing an elaborate crown (fig. 20) and flanked by four winged figures in long skirts, two of them soaring. On the opposite gable, two winged male immortals in short gowns flank Dong Wanggong. The one standing on the left holds an unidentified object in both hands; the other kneels and raises his right hand, paying homage to the god. In addition to these human attendants, both Xi Wangmu and Dong Wanggong are flanked by divine animals and birds.

Numerous depictions of the divinities survive in the form of mirror decoration. In addition to Xi Wangmu and Dong Wanggong, the deities depicted may also include *sanhuang* 三皇, the three primeval ancestors and legendary heroes, and *wudi* 五帝, the Five Celestial Emperors.<sup>51</sup> As exemplified by figure 21, dated by inscription to A.D. 105,<sup>52</sup> the three divinities on this and other mirrors are placed on seats, and all wear contemporary robes and three-pronged caps. They face forward, with faces framed by gently curved ribbons attached to their shoulders. In a type of mirror popular during the Jian'an period (A.D. 196–220), a number of seated deities are depicted in rows (fig. 22),<sup>53</sup> all wearing the characteristic large decorative collar. Such a large number of divinities assembled in tiers on one mirror creates an appearance of order, perhaps a vision of the immortals' world, Heaven.

Several characteristic attributes emerge from the iconographic evidence described above. Some of them correspond to descriptions in literature; others display the local style; and some concern

individual features of the statues. Thus, the central figure is represented (a) seated in a solemn frontal pose; (b) with a cap or headdress; (c) with voluminous robes in a noble style; (d) with hands concealed inside long, wide sleeves lying in front, sometimes upon a *ji*; (e) with two pairs of ribbon-like, gently outward-curving wings attached to their shoulders, which might depict cloud vapors (*yunqi* 雲氣); and (f) on a throne, sometimes resting upon a flat-topped mountain pinnacle, perhaps accompanied by a dragon and a tiger or displayed under a canopy. The attendants are (a) animal or human, represented primarily in profile and in smaller proportions; (b) standing or kneeling in respectful attitudes of homage; and (c) flanking the central figure. Furthermore, the pictures are symmetrical, with the visual focus on the divine image. The lesser deities or minor figures flanking the central figure establish the position of the major deity within the religious hierarchy. The solemn, frontal pose of the central divine figure would invite worshippers into a religious experience with their god.

This brief survey of the development of a particular type of divine imagery from the Han period reveals that Daoist figure types in the Northern Dynasties period evolved chiefly from the earlier imagery of traditional divinities.<sup>54</sup> The pose of the seated deity, *en face*, with symmetrically flanking attendants, recalls certain images of heavenly deities and holy ancestors, popular divinities such as Xi Wangmu and Dong Wanggong of the Han dynasty. The dragon and tiger—two of the symbols of the four cardinal directions—had been popular long before. Other auspicious animals like the bird, which has supposedly

FIG. 21 (NEAR RIGHT).

*Drawing of a bronze mirror showing three divinities placed around the knob, dated A.D. 105 (after Umehara, Kan sangoku rokucho, pl. 6).*

FIG. 22 (FAR RIGHT).

*Bronze mirror showing divinities arranged in tiers, Eastern Han period (after Umehara, Kan sangoku rokucho, pl. 96).*



FIG. 19.  
*Ink rubbing of the design on a pottery tile from Xinfan, Sichuan, Eastern Han period (after Zhongguo meishu quanji, 18:fig. 248).*

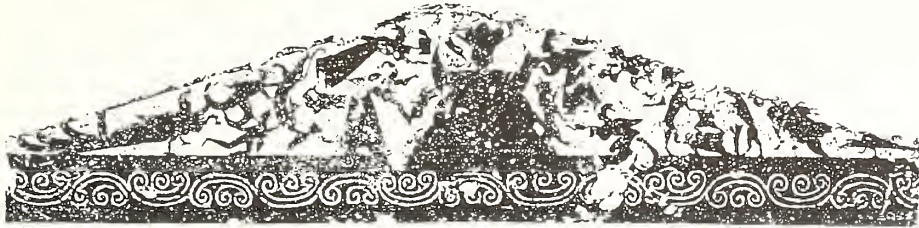


FIG. 20.  
*Ink rubbings of reliefs on two gables of Wuliangci at Jiaxiang, Shandong, showing the paradise of Xi Wangmu and Dong Wanggong, Eastern Han period (after Zhongguo meishu quanji, 18:fig. 4, and Feng and Feng, Jin-shisuo).*







FIG. 23.  
*Ink rubbing of decoration on a bronze hu vessel unearthed at Liuligou, Henan, sixth–fifth century B.C. (after Guo Baojun, Shanbiaozhen yu Liuligou (Beijing: Kexue Press, 1959), pl. 93).*



FIG. 24.  
*Ink rubbing of decoration on a bronze dagger-axe, qi, unearthed at Jingmen, Hebei, fifth–third century B.C. (after Wenwu 1963, 1:64–65).*

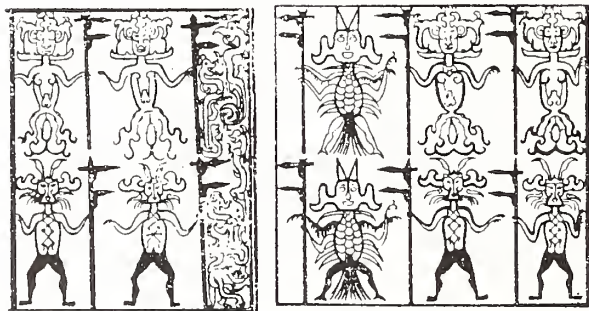


FIG. 25.  
*Drawing of the coffin painting from Zeng Houyi's tomb, Hubei, dating from 433–400 B.C. (after Archaeological Institute and Hubei Provincial Museum, Zeng Houyi mu, fig. 21).*

functioned as either protector or communicator since antiquity, and ornaments such as circular emblems can be found very early in the decoration of bronze vessels. Such symbols, which recur in

early Daoist sculpture, reflect the strength of earlier beliefs.

In his illuminating study of the ideology of early Chinese pictorial art, Wu Hung labeled the frontality and symmetry of the carvings in the Wuliang offering shrine their “iconic composition,” in contrast to their “episodic composition.” He concluded that iconic composition in Eastern Han art, as represented by the Xi Wangmu picture in Wuliangci, was derived from Indian Buddhist art and became popular in the first century A.D.<sup>55</sup> The evidence provided above, however, strongly suggests that China had a religious iconography long before the arrival of Buddhism or the beginning of Indian influence. Indeed, the emphatic frontality and symmetry of the divine figure can be traced back earlier than Han divine art. Symmetry and frontality were typical principles of the decoration of Shang-Zhou bronzes, as illustrated by two late Zhou bronzes (figs. 23–24). Early examples appear not only on bronze vessels but also on jade figures from the Shang to the Zhou period<sup>56</sup> and in coffin paintings such as the one in Zeng Houyi's 曾侯乙 tomb (433–400 B.C.), Hubei (fig. 25).<sup>57</sup>

Unlike Wu Hung, I therefore conclude that Chinese pictorial art had a strong tradition of using a symmetrical and frontal composition to represent divine figures. This tradition stems from the early representation of heavenly spirits in late Zhou pictorial art and owes little directly to Indian influence. Moreover, it was the newly arrived Buddhist art that initially absorbed compositional elements from established concepts in contemporary Chinese divine representation to portray Buddhist figures, so that these foreign divinities could be viewed by Chinese devotees as sacred figures equal in stature to Xi Wangmu or Dong Wanggong and might thereby become objects of worship.

#### THE TRANSITION TO DAOIST IMAGERY

How did the Han imagery of popular divinities change into the later icons of organized Daoism during the Northern Dynasties? Obviously, change or transition in the iconography of religious idols must



FIG. 26 (FAR LEFT).

*Cliff sculpture of Xi Wangmu (X68) at Mount Kongwang in Lianyungang, Jiangsu, dating from the late Han to the early Three Kingdoms period (after Wenwu 1982, 9:66, fig. 1).*



FIG. 27 (NEAR LEFT).

*Cliff sculpture of Daoist deity (X1) at Mount Kongwang in Lianyungang, Jiangsu, dating from the late Han to the early Three Kingdoms period (after Wenwu 1981, 7:pl. 2:1).*



FIG. 28.

*Cliff sculpture of Daoist deity (X66) at Mount Kongwang in Lianyungang, Jiangsu, dating from the late Han to the early Three Kingdoms period (after Wenwu 1981, 7:pl. 2:2).*

be discussed not only on the level of art. It must have coincided with changes in social, religious, and intellectual practices. These interests are sometimes described in literary sources, but they are as readily discernible in the physical structure of the artworks themselves.

In the late Han period proponents of organized Daoism were searching for the magical elixir of life, for longevity and immortality. Soon Daoism acquired a cultic pattern, a supreme god, a canon of scriptures, temples, priests, and practices modeled on traditional Chinese popular cults. Although late Han sculptures that have been identified as Daoist are rare, several carvings dating from the late Han to

early Three Kingdoms period (second–third century A.D.), carved on the living rock in Mount Kongwang near Lianyung Harbor on the Yellow Sea in northeastern Jiangsu province, are considered to have Daoist associations.<sup>58</sup> At this site, No. X68 shows an image seated frontally against a shallow cave on the uppermost of the carvings (fig. 26). The figure wears a cap and conceals both hands inside long sleeves. A carved lamp bowl in the terrace in front of the figure indicates that this image used to be the object of worship.<sup>59</sup> Both No. X1 (fig. 27) and No. X66 (fig. 28) show an undeniable similarity to No. X68 in pose but display more lifelike, humanized features.<sup>60</sup> They may represent Daoist deities—their divinity



demonstrated by the smaller flanking figures paying homage to them. Judging from these examples, the iconography of Daoist divine figures of the late Han still bears witness to the strong influence of the contemporary imagery of popular divinities. The familiar figural pose—seated *en face*—is recognizable as that of Xi Wangmu and Dong Wanggong and other popular deities in various media. The presence of animals follows the long tradition of depicting divinities accompanied by auspicious creatures. Certain well-known early or contemporary versions of such themes would have served as models, which in the more isolated art of the provinces might long have been reproduced with little change.

The quest for immortality and the practice of representing immortals in Han pictorial art was accompanied by a nationwide tendency to copy the imagery of divinities prevalent in metropolitan areas. Provincial artists followed metropolitan models in decorating tombs, shrines, and other structures dedicated to the divinities, with local people creating their own ancestors' portraits by copying the iconography of divine representations. This tendency can be easily detected in the so-called homage scenes in funerary art, in which the deceased is depicted as the principal figure, seated and receiving homage from descendants, former servants, and subordinates. One such scene is found in the main hall of an elaborate pavilion carved on a stone slab excavated at Weishan-Liangcheng, Shandong (fig. 29).<sup>61</sup> Dated by inscription to A.D. 139, it depicts a couple sitting *en face* in cross-legged positions, elaborately costumed, with their large sleeves in front. Four men on the right bow toward the master while holding a *hu* tablet in both hands. Two ladies in beautiful dresses appear on the other side. The idealized architectural structure, stylized in sharp geometric forms, has many fantastic decorative elements. A similar scene is illustrated by a stone relief from Jiexiang, Shandong, dating from the late Han period (fig. 30). In this case, the pavilion is guarded by a pair of dragons above the roof. As a whole, the scene shows a higher degree of compositional symmetry than figure 29 and thus more closely resembles a religious icon.

Similar compositional elements appear in a later Han tomb mural unearthed at Anping 安平 in

Hebei and dated by inscription to A.D. 176 (fig. 31).<sup>62</sup> The deceased is depicted *en face*, seated under a canopy, surrounded by a screen and several attendants in secular costume. His raised right hand holds a fanlike accessory called a *bianmian* 便面.<sup>63</sup> According to the archaeologist, a *ji* armrest was originally depicted in front of him but is now worn away. Another similar homage scene has been found in a carving from Anqiu 安丘 in Shandong. The figure in this scene is seated upon a rectangular bench, or *ta* 榻, surrounded by a wind screen (fig. 32). One other homage scene, found in a tomb mural at Xiaxian 夏縣, Shaanxi province, dates from the second century. The deceased's portrait occupies the middle section of the east wall, under a canopy, seated frontally (fig. 33).<sup>64</sup> He is depicted with a moustache and wearing a flat-topped cap. Much smaller figures on his right bow toward the master and pay homage to him. A similar homage scene is found on the main wall of a late Han tomb excavated at Xin'an in Henan. The deceased is seated in frontal pose behind a *ji*, his hands sealed in his sleeves (fig. 34).<sup>65</sup>

Such homage scenes from the Han or post-Han period were found widely in China, and they are compositionally very similar to representations of divine beings. The standard design always contains the following elements: a single or double massive figure seated frontally in a pavilion or a wind screen or under a canopy, with hands concealed inside long, wide sleeves in front or with a raised right hand holding an accessory such as a *bianmian*, sometimes with a *ji* before him. Several attendants or officials, sometimes holding a *hu*, *zhuwei*, or other object, are depicted making gestures of obedience toward the central figure. An idealized environment consisting of such elements as fantastic architecture, elaborate decoration, or auspicious animals surrounds the scene.

The parallel between homage scenes and Han imagery for divinities suggests that such portraits of the deceased followed an iconographic formula from a then-current prototype. Such portraits sometimes became almost indistinguishable from representations of immortals.<sup>66</sup> In one case, a stone coffin in Sichuan shows the deceased wearing a *sheng* 勝 headdress, a well-known attribute of Xi Wangmu

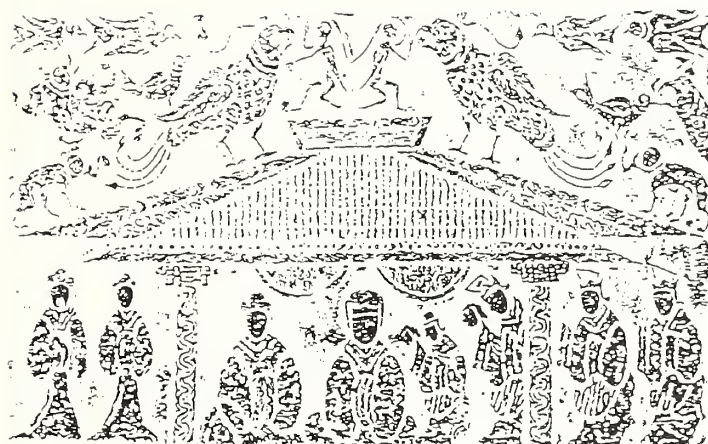


FIG. 29.  
Ink rubbing of stone relief from Weishan-Liangcheng, Shandong, showing homage scene, dated A.D. 139 (after Zhongguo meishu quanji, 18:fig. 48).

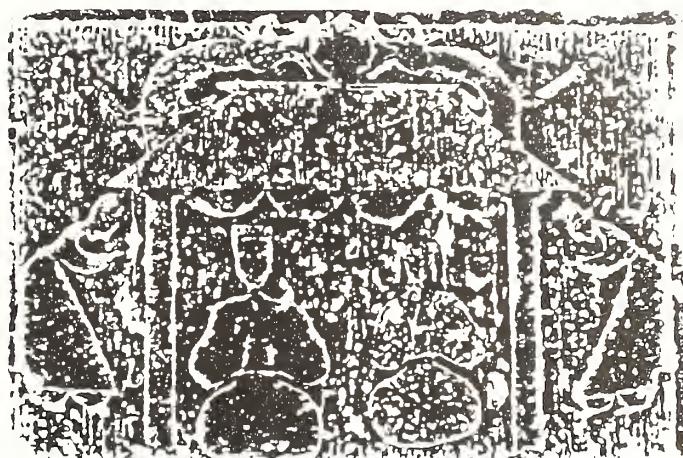


FIG. 30.  
Ink rubbing of stone relief from Jiexiang, Shandong, showing homage scene, late Han (after Doi Yoshiko, Chūgoku kodai no gashoseki [Ancient Chinese stone reliefs] [Tokyo: Dohosha, 1986], pl. 141).

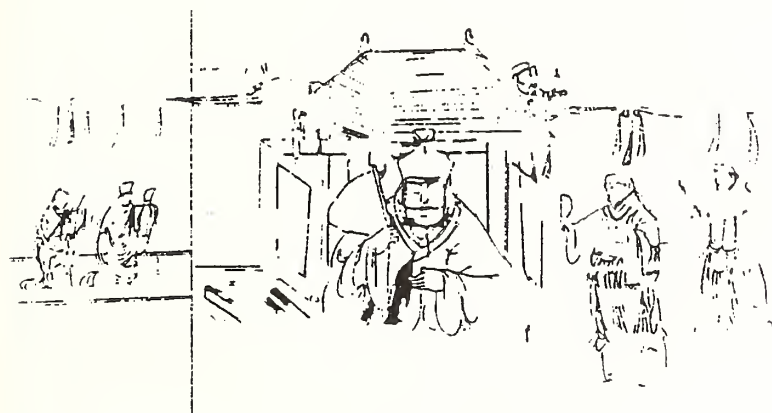


FIG. 31.  
Drawing of tomb mural in Anping, Hebei, showing homage scene, dated A.D. 176 (after Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau, Anping donghan mu, fig. 40).

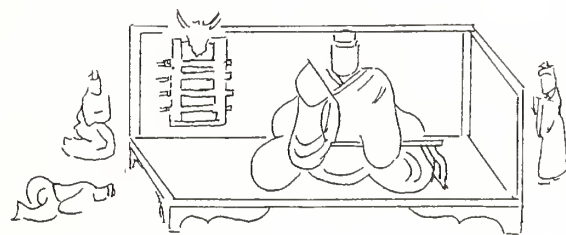


FIG. 32.  
Drawing of homage scene represented in stone relief from Anqiu, Shandong (after Wenwu cankao ziliao 1955, 3, inside of back cover).

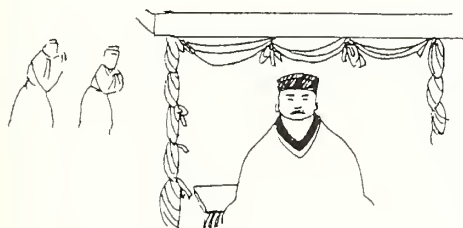


FIG. 33.  
Drawing of tomb mural excavated in Xiaoxian, Shanxi, showing homage scene, dating from A.D. 147–189 (based on Wenwu 1994, 8:39, pl. 12).

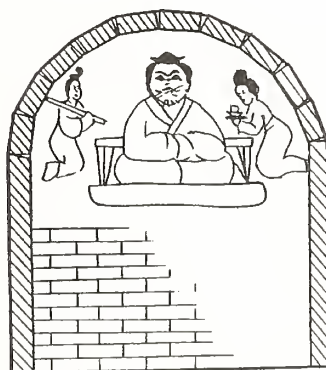


FIG. 34.  
Drawing of tomb mural excavated in Xin'an, Henan, showing homage scene, late Han (after Huang and Guo, Yuoyang hanmu bihua, 192, pl. 5).



(fig. 35).<sup>67</sup> In one other homage scene from the Wuliang offering shrine, a principal lady flanked by others presenting their respects to her on the upper floor of the pavilion so closely resembles Xi Wangmu and her attendants that some scholars have interpreted the scene as representing the visit of King Mu 穆天子 to the Queen Mother of the West.<sup>68</sup>

The most important stimulus for transmission of the models of the divine at the local level is the widespread desire for longevity and immortality. To the deceased, the tomb was not a replica of his previous life but an idealized model of the secular world and an imitation of paradise. In addition, the descendants of the deceased hoped their sacred ancestors would confer wealth, blessing, and longevity upon them. Therefore, even if those central figures did not represent such divinities as Xi Wangmu or Dong Wanggong, they still inhabited a realm above the real world. They were masters of the shrines or tombs, but in this context they had already been transformed into immortal beings.

The practice of copying current divine figural imagery to represent the ancestral image in funeral art continued after the Han dynasty. One example occurs in the tomb of a Chinese official, Dongshou 冬壽, uncovered in 1944 at Anak in Hwanghae province, now in North Korea.<sup>69</sup> Dongshou had served one of the Murong chiefs who were racial cousins of the Tuoba. When his patron was disastrously defeated in A.D. 336, he fled to the Koguryo kingdom, where he was welcomed and transferred his services to the Korean king. Since this king was an ally of the Eastern Jin regime in the south, Dongshou was given a long, Chinese-style title. He died in A.D. 357 after twenty-two years in Koguryo. His painted image on a wall of his grandiose stone tomb shows him sitting in a frontal pose in voluminous robes under a cloth canopy decorated with tassels; several smaller attendants are shown outside (fig. 36). He is depicted with a moustache and wearing a flat-topped official cap, with his raised right hand holding a *zhuwei* and his left hand resting upon a *yingji*. His wife is shown in smaller scale, seated in three-quarter pose under a similar canopy painted in receding view. According to Chinese archaeologists, the Anak tomb closely follows the model of the

Yinan tomb in Shandong in terms of stone structure, overall size, and multiroom plan. It differs in that it lacks a sculptured façade and is decorated with wall paintings instead of engravings. Clearly, Dongshou's descendants fashioned his tomb and his portrait following the pattern prevalent in central China. Similar homage scenes from murals of the Koguryo tumulus suggest that this imagery was popular during the second half of the fourth and early fifth centuries.<sup>70</sup> Two very similar scenes are found in tomb murals in Yuntaizi 雲臺子, Chaoyang (fig. 37),<sup>71</sup> and Shangwangjia 上王家, Liaoyang (fig. 38),<sup>72</sup> both from Liaoning province and dated to the Eastern Jin period (A.D. 317–420).

Another homage scene shows metropolitan influences reaching Houhaizi 后海子, Zhaotong 昭通, Yunnan province, in the far southwestern part of China. Both the construction and mural arrangement of this tomb, dating to 398, follow the pattern current in northern China during the Eastern Jin. The deceased, Huo Chengsi 霍承嗣, a high-ranking official of the districts, is depicted in the center of the back wall, seated upon a rectangular bench, or *ta*, underlain by a toothlike decoration and "wearing a small cap and a deep red robe representing a Daoist garment" (fig. 39). His raised right hand holds a *zhuwei*, while his left hand touches his foot.<sup>73</sup> Larger than his attendants, he appears godlike—imposing, frontal, and static. The location of this tomb demonstrates that the theme and style of funerary art that had formerly flourished in central China had by now spread to remote frontiers.

The iconographic similarities of these examples from various regions suggests that there must have been a common theological ground, a popular prototype, a fusion of aesthetic values and tastes. Doubtless these tomb portraits of the deceased, like those of the late Han, were modified under the influence of a popular iconography, that of the immortals. This evidence further implies that, although at present hardly any Daoist icons of the Wei-Jin period are known, the paintings found in tombs may be closely related to contemporary Daoist imagery.



FIG. 35.  
*Ink rubbing of stone relief on one side of sarcophagus excavated in Sichuan, Eastern Han period (after Kaogu yu wenwu 1988, 2:pl. IV-3).*



FIG. 36.  
*Line drawing of wall painting from Dongshou's tomb at Anak, North Korea, showing portrait of Dongshou, dated A.D. 357 (after Kaogu 1959, 1:27-35, fig. 5).*



FIG. 37.  
*Line drawing of wall painting from tomb at Chaoyang, Liaoning, showing portrait of tomb master, fourth century (based on Wenwu 1984, 6:pl. 5:2).*



FIG. 38.  
*Line drawing of wall painting in tomb at Liaoyang, Liaoning, showing portrait of tomb master, fourth century (after Wenwu 1959, 7:61, fig. 8).*



FIG. 39.  
*Drawing of wall painting from Huo Chengsi's tomb at Zhaotong, Yunnan, showing his portrait, dated A.D. 398 (after Wenwu 1963, 12:1-6, pl. 1:1).*





FIG. 40.  
*Homage scene from tomb in suburb of Luoyang, Henan, showing one attendant holding a zhuwei in his right hand, late Han (after Huang and Guo, Luoyang hanmu bishu, 192, pl. 5).*

Although still reflecting a strong late Han influence, the iconographic formula for divinities of the Wei-Jin period differs significantly from that of the preceding period. Images of deities from the pre-Han period all appeared wild, with awe-inspiring features. In the Han, these images became conventionalized, and their wild characteristics were much less apparent. Such attributes as wings, which symbolized wild power, were transformed to *yunqi*, or vapors. But in the Wei-Jin period such wild attributes were completely eliminated. This change indicated a new attitude toward divinities, which can no longer be characterized as fear or awe.

The prevalence of the *zhuwei* and *yinji* in tomb portraiture of the Wei-Jin period and their rarity in Han divine art make it clear that changes in iconographic features are linked to cultural and social changes. A *zhuwei* is made of the tail hair of the *zhu* 麋, defined in the Han *Erya* 爾雅 dictionary as a deerlike animal. According to modern Chinese zoologists, *zhu* is a type of deer, namely *tuolu* 駝鹿 (elk?) or *sibuxiang* 四不象 in Chinese.<sup>74</sup> In general, a *zhuwei* is a small fanlike object with a handle made of a slim piece of wood or ivory and the tail hair of the *zhu* deer implanted on one end. The origin of the *zhuwei* is not clear, but it is already present in late Han texts and funerary art.<sup>75</sup> In an homage scene found in a late Han tomb in a suburb of Luoyang, Henan, the figure of one attendant holds a *zhuwei* in his right hand (fig. 40).<sup>76</sup>

During the Wei-Jin period, when metaphysics preoccupied the country, *qingtan* 清談, or “pure conversation”—a special type of rhetorical discussion about philosophical and other subjects—was much in vogue among the cultured upper classes.<sup>77</sup> The literati and elite favored holding the *zhuwei* as an elegant accessory when they attended *qingtan* meetings, a kind of salon where they held their debates and displayed their ability to speak abstrusely and laconically.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, such pastimes reached beyond the gentry. The *zhuwei* became the favorite accessory of both Daoist practitioners and Buddhist monks,<sup>79</sup> even of army men. It is said that when Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (A.D. 181–234) directed a battle, he wore a brown kerchief and held a *zhuwei*, looking so smart that even his adversaries admired his gentlemanly demeanor!<sup>80</sup> In another case, general Wang Jun 王浚 bestowed a *zhuwei* upon Shi Le 石勒, a warlord and later king of the Late Zhao (r. 319–332) who has been described by historians as an ignorant man. Shi hung it on the wall and paid homage to it day and night.<sup>81</sup> In this context, it becomes clear that it would not have seemed unusual for Dongshou and Huo Chengsi, both military officials, to be represented holding a *zhuwei*. Suffused with literary, social, and political overtones, this object replaced such Han attributes of immortals as *bianmian*, becoming the favorite accessory of deities in the Wei-Jin period.

The *ji* is another attribute that illustrates changes in representation of immortals from the Han to the Wei-Jin era. The function of the *ji*, not only as a piece of furniture but as an object imbued with ritual and political implications, had been recognized since early antiquity. During the Zhou dynasty, a special official was appointed to arrange for its use. The ritual text *Zhouli* 周禮 regulated how five different kinds of *ji* would be prepared for different ritual and political affairs.<sup>82</sup> The jade *ji* was specially reserved for the Son of Heaven, providing him with an armrest and, more importantly, giving him a solemn appearance.<sup>83</sup> Zhang Hua 張華 (A.D. 232–300) later endorsed this function by saying, “A leaning-*ji* is in fact not used for leaning. Its purpose is to establish *li* 禮 (propriety).”<sup>84</sup> *Ji* was also a symbol showing rulers’ filial piety: the *ji* and *zhang* 杖 (walking stick) were given to the elderly by the court in the eighth moon of the year.<sup>85</sup> This practice, employed in the early part of the dynasty, established a cultural and political heritage that was regularly adopted by later generations. During the Han dynasty, while connotations associated with its *li*, or propriety, continued,<sup>86</sup> the *ji* became an object imbued with imperial honor, to be given by rulers not only to the aged but to other devoted courtiers as well.<sup>87</sup> In addition, a sense of mystery now accrued to the *ji*, which was associated with Xi Wangmu. Han literature and art represented the Heavenly Queen as seated leaning upon a *ji* and wearing a *sheng* headdress.<sup>88</sup> The *ji* also appeared in portraits of the deceased composed in imitation of imagery of the immortals.

But the *ji* in the funerary art of the Wei-Jin period and Daoist stelae of the Northern Dynasties differed from earlier examples. Whereas the *ji* in early Xi Wangmu iconography consisted of a rectangular tabletop with two rows of curved feet at its ends (fig. 41),<sup>89</sup> by the Wei-Jin period it had three curved feet supporting a long narrow arc-shaped rest (fig. 42). Such an armrest, now called *yinji*, became extremely fashionable during this period. To sit leaning upon a *yinji* while engaging in *qingtian* was thought to endow a man not only with a noble appearance but also with an aura of the spirit of antiquity (*gufeng* 古風). It is said that before Cao Cao 曹操 (A.D. 155–220) ascended the throne, when he



FIG. 41.  
*Line drawing of a ji, from slab carving of Xi Wangmu image excavated at Yinan, Shandong, late Han period (based on Nagahiro, Kandai gazo, 29, fig. 29).*



FIG. 42.  
*Pottery model of a yinji on a bench ta, from tomb at Nanjing, Jiangsu, fourth century A.D. (after Wenwu 1979, 9:67, fig. 3).*

conquered a city, he picked a blank screen and *yinji* from among the captured equipment, sent them to Mao Jie 毛玠, a famous scholar in charge of selecting officials for Cao’s government, and said: “You have the air of an ancient scholar (*guren zhifeng* 古人之風); I should give you this rare antiquity (*guren zhiwu* 古人之物).”<sup>90</sup> The poetic, religious, and political implications of the *yinji* must have continued into the Southern and Northern dynasties, as Cao Cao’s words were often repeated.<sup>91</sup>

Thus, the Wei-Jin transformation of iconography relating to divine imagery reflects current political, religious, and philosophical trends that led to a new social and cultural configuration, as well as to changes in art. The new iconography of divinities at once duplicated features of the *qingtian* adept and developed from earlier divine imagery.

These tomb portraits are iconographically very similar to the Daoist icons prevalent in the early sixth century, described above. Clearly the Daoist images of the Northern Dynasties grew out of early representations of the divinity and continued the iconographic and compositional traditions that already existed in the Wei-Jin period. *Zhuwei*, the favorite accessory of the *qingtian* adept, was now formally adopted as an important iconographic feature of the Daoist deity, not as an item of fashion but because of its leadership connotations. Since a *zhu* was believed to be the largest deer in a herd, the other deer would naturally follow the *zhu*’s tail when running.<sup>92</sup> *Zhuwei* therefore became a favorite accessory for Daoists during the



Six Dynasties period (A.D. 220–589). According to *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin dynasty), the Daoist adept Wang Yan 王延 “always engaged in discussions about Laozi and Zhuangzi 莊子, and as he spoke would hold a *zhuwei* with a jade handle.”<sup>93</sup> *Zhuwei* was naturally linked with magic Daoist power. Wu Meng 吳猛, a native of Yuzhang 豫章 near Mount Lu, was a powerful Daoist adept in the Jin dynasty.<sup>94</sup> On one occasion when he returned to his hometown on the Yangzi River, a huge surf was raging. He did not board a ship but touched the water with a *zhuwei* and safely crossed over on foot.<sup>95</sup> The biography of Zhang Rong 張融 in *Nan Qishu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi) mentions that when the eminent Daoist Zhang Rong was a child, Lu Xiujing, the renowned Daoist master from the same hometown who had great expectations of him, left him a *zhuwei*.<sup>96</sup> Finally, in Daoist texts, the *zhuwei* had a touch of mystery. Tao Hongjing 陶宏景 relates in *Zhen’gao* 真誥 that, forty-four years after his death, Zhang Lu 張魯, the leader of Tianshi Dao, had his coffin forced open by a flood. The body was clearly alive; he walked out and sat on the bed, holding a *zhuwei* to cover his face, and smiled, then passed away again when people shouted at him. He was later reburied.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps from its associations with Xi Wangmu and with old age, *ji* or *yinji* derived a new symbolic meaning of recluseness and immortality, in addition to nobility, during the Six Dynasties period. It is said that “during his many years’ cultivation of the Dao, Ge Hong 葛洪 (A.D. 283–343) always sat leaning upon a *ji* made of white *wutong* 梧桐 (Chinese parasol tree). When he eventually ascended to heaven in bright daylight, his *ji* turned into a white tiger with two heads and three legs.”<sup>98</sup> *Yinji* was often paired with *zhuwei*. When Kong Zhigui 孔稚珪 (447–501), an eminent scholar and Daoist, retired from government to live reclusively, Emperor Gaodi 高帝 (r. 479–482) of the Southern Qi sent him a *yinji* and a *zhuwei*, nearly repeating the words of Cao Cao cited above.<sup>99</sup> Against the background of these legends, it becomes clear why *zhuwei* and *yinji* occupy important roles in the iconography of Daoist compositions and eventually became two distinct attributes of Daoist deities.<sup>100</sup>

In arguing that Daoist imagery grew out of the experience of Buddhist art, some scholars have confused the *zhuwei* with the Buddhist fly-whisk. Nevertheless, a *zhuwei* in the Chinese context differs from the instrument held by a bodhisattva, or celestial, or those used in monastic life, a *fuzi* 拂子 or *vyajana* in the terminology of the Buddhist sutras.<sup>101</sup> A *fuzi* is made of horse or yak tails or, as described by Xuanzang 玄奘, the eminent monk of the Tang dynasty, of Kaza grass. In Buddhist art, bodhisattvas are occasionally shown holding a similar staff, a fly-whisk that can be traced back to Indian art of the first century B.C. The Yakshi and Yaksha holding a fly-whisk made of a yak’s tail are not rare. The fly-whisk is, like the umbrella, a sign of honor; its presence suggests that these earth spirits were worshipped or perhaps stood as an honor guard for a shrine or a carved symbol of the Buddha.<sup>102</sup> Xuanzang relates from another perspective how he found the Buddha’s broom in a monastery in the district of Balkh (*Fuheguo* 傳喝國). His description of this broom of Kaza grass (*jiashicao* 迦奢草), about two feet long and seven inches in circumference, with a handle (set with pearls), suggests that the broom has a longstanding history as a Buddhist implement and that it had largely the same design then as it has now.<sup>103</sup> According to J. Prip-Møller, the fly-whisk in Buddhist monasticism is a sign of leadership and a manifestation of the vow not to kill. It is used to ward off flies, mosquitoes, and other insects without killing them.<sup>104</sup>

Broadly speaking, Daoist iconography was not derived from Buddhist imagery but sprang directly from an original Chinese prototype. Yet during the formative period of Daoist iconography Buddhist art admittedly helped move what already existed toward its culmination. Daoists adopted certain elements from Buddhist art because they were already familiar and because Buddhist beliefs and representations had merged with Daoist notions and indigenous Chinese motifs from popular cults. In addition, the changed style of drapery also reveals a mutual influence between Buddhist and Daoist sculpture. In this group of sculptures, note the design of the long, wide sleeves, which are mostly drawn in energetic curves and end in sharp winglike lobes,

spread out like pennants on both sides of the legs to very striking effect and in contrast with the lower part of the robes, which are stretched tightly over the legs. This elegant garment seems to reflect the contemporary style of Buddhist art, seen first in wall painting and developed in Yungang and Longmen in the late fifth century.<sup>105</sup>

At that time, large-scale Buddhist sculptural programs were sponsored by imperial or noble families in or near the metropolitan centers. When the capital or one of the large metropolitan subcultures had developed sufficient political clout, its influence could spread into artistic affairs as well. Other regions would struggle to imitate its stylistic lead. The activities of the Daoist sculptor were no exception.<sup>106</sup>

#### FUNCTIONS OF DAOIST ICONS IN THE NORTHERN WEI

Some scholars have concluded that Daoist art became fashionable during the Northern Wei dynasty when confronted by the competition of the foreign faith of Buddhism, whose missionary efforts were just then making great inroads all over China. While traditional Chinese scholarship puts forward the sociological proposition that people make images to protect themselves from war and natural disasters,<sup>107</sup> modern Western scholars assume that "The primary reason for Daoist sculpture was the desire to emulate the Buddhist popularity."<sup>108</sup> Indeed, the fifth century was a particularly chaotic era characterized by famine, destruction, and heavy taxes, causing people to turn readily to the idea of a supreme god, the Laojun who would relieve them from their misery. On the other hand, the threat from Buddhism certainly gave Daoist art the impetus to develop and become fashionable, and the evolution of Daoist image-making paralleled that of contemporary Buddhist art. Yet it is not enough to emphasize one or two possible causes for the origins of Daoist images, such as social conditions or the impact of Buddhist art, while neglecting others, especially the demands of Daoist religious practices.

Thus the origins of Daoist images can be further illuminated by comparing the functions that

traditional divine icons served before Daoist and Buddhist icons appeared in China to those served by Daoist images. At the risk of oversimplification, the traditional sacred image can generally be said to have functioned in three ways. First, it might have talismanic qualities. That is, if people set up an image and performed a devotional ceremony, prostrated themselves before it and worshipped it regularly, the deity represented would protect them and their families from evil. This was the primary motivation for the ancient Chinese use of images during the Han and Wei-Jin periods.<sup>109</sup> Second, an image could be used to lure spirits, communication with whom might facilitate immortality. The belief in the power of images to produce practical results is demonstrated in a passage from Sima Qian's 司馬遷 *Shiji* 史記 in which the *fangshi* 方士, or necromancer, Li Shaowen 李少文 directed Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.) to build the Palace of Sweet Springs, which included a terrace chamber painted with pictures of Heaven, Earth, the Grand Unity, and all the other gods and spirits. Here Li Shaowen set forth sacrificial vessels in an effort to summon the spirits of Heaven.<sup>110</sup> Third, an image resembling the sacred figures might encourage desirable behavior. Portraits wielded significant coercive power, presenting both ruler and subject with precedents to follow or to be invoked as admonitions against moral deviance. *Wuyue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 (The annals of Wu and Yue) relates that "Deeds can be represented in pictures; virtue can be manifested through sculptures."<sup>111</sup> It is said that when Confucius visited the *mingtang* 明堂, or Bright Hall of Zhou, he saw statues resembling ancient sovereigns, sages, and other personages, each showing good and evil features and carrying consequences for the rise and fall of nations.<sup>112</sup> Virtuous or villainous rulers were either praised or blamed as a means of defining a universal moral code.

The advent of Buddhist art in China added a new function to the use of the holy image. Chinese Buddhists linked the use of holy images to their future life through *gongyang* 供養, or personal devotion (Sanskrit *pujana*), and *gongde* 功德, or



accumulation of merits (Sanskrit *guna*). The former referred to the act of setting up a domestic shrine, making offerings, and paying homage to the icon; the latter alluded to the act of donation by which religious monuments were erected and placed in temples or at street corners as public shrines. Both were based on the Buddhist notion that through these meritorious acts the donor earned remission of sins and acquired salvation for himself, his ancestors, and members of his family.

What was the particular Daoist, as distinct from Buddhist, use for visual manifestations of the divine, and how far did Daoists evolve during the Northern Wei from traditional ideas about the function of a divine image? To answer these questions, several factors need to be taken into account. Although by the third and fourth centuries Daoist religious art was for all practical purposes fully developed, it was not until the Northern Wei period that the use of images became popular in the north. In the course of this development, Kou Qianzhi's religious reformation played a key role.<sup>113</sup>

In a gesture that recalls traditional religious practices in China, Kou's Daoist reformation placed a high value on what he called *zhaigong libai* 齋功禮拜 (ritual and adoration). He told his disciples that Taishang Laojun had given him a message: "People on the earth are reaching a *kalpa*, and the preaching of the doctrine among them is very difficult. You have to persuade men and women to erect altars and shrines where they should worship morning and evening, as if a pious father (*yanfu* 嚴父) is presiding over them at home."<sup>114</sup> The essential purpose of emphasizing such practices was to achieve personal immortality, as Kou proclaimed, "The perfect Dao of longevity is received from the immortals and Saints in the form of secret bequests which have never appeared in writing. If one does not participate in the *zhaigong libai*, and communicate with the spirits (*tongshen* 通神), how can one entice deities to descend on earth on dragons and escort one to heaven?"<sup>115</sup> "The practitioners should burn incense, and engage their pious and pure minds. Eventually they will be aware of the interplay of their true spirits with the transcendental beings."<sup>116</sup> Dedicatory inscriptions on many extant Daoist stelae

commissioned by ordinary adherents of the Northern Wei period confirm such a system of beliefs:

。。。 (姚) 伯多父母兄弟，妻息大小，尊道為主，學以長生，神仙為侶。。。所願如意，壽命長延。。。此種福□，長入天堂。。。 Boduo, his parents, brothers, wives, children and all householders, will worship the Dao, recognize its primary importance, and learn the way of longevity in order to be companions of the immortals. . . . May everything turn out as we wish, [especially] the preservation of life. . . . As the result of such blessings, [we] shall enter heaven forever.

—stele dedicated by Yao Boduo and brothers, dating to 496; Yaodian Museum, Shaanxi province

。。。邑子茲茂盛，師徒普延年，同疇照劫壽，練質願更仙，皇帝統無窮，國與身長存。。。 May there be long life for all members of the *yi* commune and their descendants, may the life of teachers and their students be prolonged. . . . May they become immortal after they have cultivated their souls, may the emperor's reign be endless, may there be long life for the state and the individual.

—stele dedicated by Wang Shenjie 王神傑 and others, dating to the first year of Shengui [518]; Lintong Museum, Shaanxi province

。。。願張安世人身家眷，合無大小，無病少痛，延年益壽。。。 May Zhang Anshi himself and all householders of his family be without illness, may their life be prolonged.

—stele dedicated by Zhang Anshi's 張安世 family, dating to 518–520; Yaodian Museum, Shaanxi province

。。。願合邑亡過師尊父母，長志天闕，托化紫蓮。。。 May all members of the *yi* commune, their late teachers and parents, dwell in heaven or in [the divine realm of] the pole star.

—stele dedicated by Qi Shuanghu's 錡雙胡 family, dating to the third year of Shenggui [520]; Yaoxian Museum, Shaanxi province

This emphasis on the function of divine images in personal worship and Daoist cultivation was not invented by Kou Qianzhi but was deeply rooted in Daoist religious ideology. Early Daoists believed that the body, like the greater world, was inhabited by a host of deities who corresponded to gods in the greater world. If the spirits left the body, a man would fall seriously ill. If, however, these spirits stayed in their place, it would be possible to achieve immortality. To summon the departed spirits back, adherents were instructed to hang images of corresponding deities in fragrant halls to encourage the spirits to reenter their bodies. Such practices must have been current in the area along the eastern coast of China where Grand Peace Daoism was dominant during the late Han, since they are related in *Tai-pingjing* 太平經 (Classic of the Grand Peace), the holy text of this school.<sup>117</sup> In southwest China, similar practices were possibly also prevalent among certain circles of Daoists during the same period. *Laozi xiang'erzhu* 老子想爾注 (Xiang'er's commentary on Laozi) warns that "There is a false practice abroad of adopting a form of the Dao, describing its costume and features, as well as its size, in order to visualize it."<sup>118</sup>

From then on, many Daoist writers applied themselves to establishing a theory of meditation and visualization. They believed that if the adept learned to visualize, recognize, and properly address the deities, he was entitled to ask them for blessings and thus prolong his life. "Maintain concentration and guard the One (*cunshen shouyi* 存神守一)." "Guard the One and visualize the True One; then you are able to communicate with the spirits," announced Ge Hong, author of the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (He who embraces simplicity) and documenter of the occult tradition of south China.<sup>119</sup> Through meditation and visualization, Daoists sought an interior, ecstatic vision that would enable them to visualize and internalize the gods. Such contact enabled adepts not only to obtain help in curing illnesses by driving away toxins or "evil spirits"

in the body but also to acquire an inner elixir through spiritual enlightenment, eventually producing within themselves an ethereal and immortal body. *Baopuzi* declared: "Through the practice of meditation and inner visualization, after seven days and nights, one shall see immortals."<sup>120</sup> Among the gods, Laojun was paramount. *Baopuzi* described his appearance and costume, as well as those of the attendants around him, proclaiming that "The desire to see Taishang Laojun is achieved by concentration, inner visualization, and by chanting the name of Laojun" and that upon seeing Laojun, one's life would be prolonged, one's heart would be as shining as the sun or moon, and one would obtain insight into all matters.<sup>121</sup>

Thus images of deities were designed to attract the corporal deities back to the body and to help evoke corresponding images in meditation. I propose that such practices promoted the transition from the earlier representations of divinities popular in various media to the small, domestic Daoist images used in daily religious practices. The early prevalence of displaying images for meditation and visualization in the areas along the eastern coast of China and in Sichuan adds credence to this proposition. It is commonly accepted that such Daoist movements were the prototypes of the New Celestial Daoist sect developed in the north under the leadership of Kou Qianzhi.<sup>122</sup>

After Kou's reformation, elaborate sacrificial rites involving charms, altars, and all the other paraphernalia of the Daoist arts in the north seem to have been emphasized. It was then that the use of images not of the popular divinities but of a deified Laozi and Tianzun first achieved great popularity in religious sacrifices or devotional ceremonies. As the author of *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui dynasty) relates: "After that Daoist acts were practiced widely, and every emperor, when he came to the throne, had to receive a charm booklet, considering it an ancient practice. Statues of Tianzun and other divinities were carved and displayed at important ceremonies."<sup>123</sup>

Different kinds of Daoist adherents were doubtless motivated differently in their use of an





FIG. 43.

*Line drawing of detail from lacquer painting on cover of wooden coffin, excavated from tomb at Guyuan, Ningxia, showing Xi Wangmu (left) and Dong Wanggong with the Milky Way between them, Northern Wei period (based on Wenwu 1984, 6:54, fig. 34).*

icon of Laojun or Tianzun, since the new ideology of northern Daoism interwove a variety of traditional ideas. Many dedicatory inscriptions from Daoist sculptures show a pragmatic perspective: the prayers are concerned with temporal blessings, such as the wish for a peaceful life, good harvest, wealth, and happiness. Indeed, the ignorant might worship a Daoist icon as a talisman to protect them from evil or grant them great fortune. The man concerned with ethics might pay homage to it as embodying moral principles and encouraging better behavior. The profound believer might observe it as a tangible aid to identifying himself with the universal truth, the Dao, or its incarnations, the Laojun and Tianzun; meditating before such an image made the devotee one with the deity. The disciple who devoted himself to both Daoism and Buddhism might mix some of these motivations and further undertake personal devotion in order to accumulate merit. But above all, it was the

essential Daoist religious goal of achieving immortality and Kou's reformation that focused further attention on the Daoist arts. I believe, taken together, these forces are responsible for the rise of this type of domestic image during the Northern Wei dynasty.

The fact that the image was intended as the object of adoration and observation in daily worship, and as an aid to meditation and visualization, caused the icon to acquire a new seriousness and broader application as an instrument for religious purposes. Naturalism in these Daoist stelae is minimal, while clear-cut angles, geometric forms, and tense linear rhythms produce icons in every way suited to spiritual purposes.

Additional evidence for this point may be drawn from the evolution of the Xi Wangmu figure in this period. The familiar Han images of Xi Wangmu and Dong Wanggong continued to be produced during the Northern Wei period. Closely resembling contemporaneous Daoist stone works, a lacquer painting

on the cover of a wooden coffin dating to this period shows Xi Wangmu and her consort seated separately inside small pavilions (fig. 43).<sup>124</sup> Each is flanked by two attendants (the one standing to the left of Xi Wangmu no longer exists). In the middle of each roof ridge stands a long-tailed bird with outspread wings. Above the shrines and flanking the front end of the *tianhe* 天河, or Milky Way, are two circles enclosing a bird and hare, which are the popular symbols of the sun and moon. The combination of ideas from different religions and beliefs reflects the popularization of new phenomena during the Northern Wei period. Iconographically, the familiar Han format seems to continue: they wear tall hats and long-sleeved Chinese-style robes, with hands joined in voluminous sleeves. But in comparison with the previous compositions on the same theme, this lacquer painting appears more terse and refined, along the lines of an icon used for religious purposes.

Changes in format and iconography of the traditional theme of Xi Wangmu perhaps typify the transition from earlier depictions of divinities to Daoist icons of the Northern Wei period. Notably, Xi Wangmu and her consort were absorbed into the pantheons of some Daoist schools of the Six Dynasties.<sup>125</sup> Their images were now needed for meditation, visualization, and worship by Daoist adherents, so new variations were introduced, their format and iconography altered to suit new needs. □

## Notes

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1. The term *Yuanshi Tianzun* 元始天尊 (Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning) on Daoist sculpture first appeared in the 570s. The only example with this name in a group of more than eighty extant or recorded Daoist sculptures is a stele in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, dedicated by the brothers of Li Yuanhai 李元海 and dating to A.D. 572. See Liu Yang, "Manifestation of the Dao: A Study in Daoist Art from the Northern

Dynasties to the Tang (5th–9th Centuries)" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS, University of London, 1997), appendix 2.

2. See Ren Jiyu et al., *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi* (The history of Chinese Daoism) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Press, 1990), 199–229; Qing Xitai et al., *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi* (The history of Chinese Daoism) (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Press, 1996), 1:398–552; R. B. Mather, "Kou Chien-Chih and the Taoist Theocracy," in *Facets of Taoism*, ed. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 103–22.

3. See Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572), *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1974), 3048–55; Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), *Suishu* (History of the Sui dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1973), 1094.

4. For the Shangqing and Lingbao sects, see Michel Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy," *Toung Pao* 63 (1977): 1–64; Stephen Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1983), 2:434–86, and "The Purification Ritual of the Luminous Perfected," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 268–77, at 269ff.; Isabelle Robinet, *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-Shan Tradition of Great Purity*, trans. Julian F. Pas and Norman J. Girardot (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

5. Extant Daoist sculptures are rare (one specimen found at Chengdu in Sichuan dates to the Southern Liang period [502–557]; see *Wenwu* 1998, 11:color pl. 4:2), but abundant iconographic materials in the Daoist and Buddhist literature dating from this time make it certain that many existed.

6. For studies of Daoist stelae of the Northern Wei dynasty in general, see Matsubara Saburō, *Chūgoku bukkyō chōkokushi kenkyū* (A study in the history of Chinese Buddhist sculptures) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1966); Arthur John Pontynen, "The Deification of Laozi in Chinese History and Art," *Oriental Art* 26.2 (1980): 192–200; "The Dual Nature of Laozi in Chinese History and Art," *Oriental Art* 26.3 (1980): 308–13; "The Early Development of Taoist Art" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1983); Ding Mingyi, "Cong Qiang Dule jian Zhou Wenwang fodao zaoxiangbei kan beichao daojiang zaoxiang (Catching a glimpse of the Northern Dynasties Daoist sculpture from the Buddhist/Daoist stele dedicated to King Zhouwen by Qiang Dule)," *Wenwu* 1986, 3:52–62; J. M. James, "Some Iconographic Problems in Early Daoist-Buddhist Sculptures in China," *Archives of Asian Art* 42 (1989): 71–76; Liu, "Manifestation of the Dao," 72–212; Stanley Abe, "Northern Wei Daoist Sculpture from Shaanxi Province," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1997): 69–84; Stephen Bokenkamp, "The Yao Boduo Stele as Evidence for the Dao-Buddhism of the Early Lingbao Scriptures," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1997):



55–68; Yoshiko Kamitsuka, “Lao-tzu in Six Dynasties Taoist Sculpture,” in *Lao-tzu and the Tao-te-ching*, ed. Livia Kohn and Michael LaFargue (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 63–88.

7. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, 30; Omura Seigai, *Shina bijutsu shi: Chosohen* (History of Chinese fine art: Sculpture), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1980), pl. 621.

8. Wang Chang 王昶 (1725–1806), *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 (A concise collection of bronzes and stone carvings) (Beijing: Jingxuntang, 1805), *juan* 27, p. 38. The inscription on this stele reads: 延昌二年 / 歲在癸巳，三 / 月卯朔廿九 / 癸未，相為眷屬，造 / 天尊一區， / 願大小 □□ 從心。 / 息男胡女 / 息男舍 □ / 息女羅朱 / 胡妻楊興女。道士張相隊一心。 / 相妻她 施姬 / 相妻鄭 □□。 This and all subsequent transcriptions were recorded and punctuated by the author, with □ representing an illegible character.

9. Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, pl. 60-b; Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, *Chinese Buddhist Stone Sculpture: Veneration of the Sublime* (Osaka: Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, 1995), fig. 89. The stele is in the collection of the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art.

10. See Hayashi Minao, *Shunju Sengoku jidai seidoki no kenkyū—In Shu seidoki soran 3* (Yin-Zhou bronze studies: Bronzes from the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States period, pt. 3) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobun Kan, 1989), 420–21.

11. Leigh Ashton, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture* (London: E. Benn, 1924), pl. 23-1; Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London: E. Benn, 1925), pl. 128-b.

12. Ashton, *Introduction*, 61.

13. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, pl. 129-b; Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, 19, fig. 26.

14. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, “Descriptions of the Plates,” 33.

15. Cf. Shen Congwen, *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu* (A study of ancient Chinese costumes) (Hongkong: Shangwu Press, 1981), 138–45.

16. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, pl. 128-a; Omura, *Shina bijutsu shi*, pl. 622. The inscription for this stele reads: 正光二年， / 四月戌 □， / 朔一日戌戌， / 造石像一 / 區。 / □ 舉 / 家口廿人， / 龍華三會， / 願在初首。

17. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, pl. 125-a.

18. Such a design is also common in Buddhist sculpture, as seen in cave 13, Yungang; see Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *Yun-kang: The Buddhist Cave-Temples of the Fifth*

*Century A.D. in North China: Detailed Report of the Archaeological Survey Carried out by the Mission of the Toho Bunka Kenkyusho, 1938–1945*, 16 vols. (Kyoto: Kyoto University [Kyoto Daigaku], Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyusho, 1952–56), 10:pls. 5–6 and, for the outside walls of caves 11–13, pl. 83. These are traditional Chinese prototypes, which might have been inspired by the *lianqian wen* 連錢文, or “chained-coin pattern” with jade and precious stone inlays, known from the wall decoration of Han palaces. Citing southern literary evidence, Wai-kam Ho concluded that this traditional motif was probably adopted in the Six Dynasties in the design of bronze hangings and banners for Buddhist shrines and pagodas. See Wai-kam Ho, “Notes on Chinese Sculpture from Northern Chi to Sui. Part I: Two Seated Stone Buddhas in the Cleveland Museum,” *Archives of Asian Art* 22 (1968–69): 7–39, at 27. The inscription for this stele reads: 天和六年六月十 / 九日，道民任元遵 / 導為先亡父 / 母造老君一區。

19. There was no such term among early Daoists of the late Han period. For instance, the Tianshi Dao in Sichuan referred to its followers as *mimin* 米民 or those of a certain rank as *jijiu* 祭酒. Such terms are found in Li Ying 李膺, *Shuji* 蜀記 (Records of Shu), cited by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in *Erjiao lun* 二教論 (Discussions on the two religions); see Daoxuan, *Guang hong-ming ji* 廣弘明集 (The anthology to magnify and illuminate the Dharma), *juan* 8, in *Taishō shinshū Taizōkyō* (The Tripitaka in Chinese), ed. J. Takakusa and K. Watanabe (Tokyo, 1927), 52:536. Cf. Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297), *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (History of the Three Kingdoms period) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1959), “Biography of Zhang Lu.”

20. Duan Fang (1861–1911), *Taozhai cangshiji* (Records of the stone carvings in the Tao studio collection) (Shanghai, 1909), *juan* 15. Wang, *Jinshi cuibian*, *juan* 35, offers another example of *Liu daomin* from the Jin era, but his sources are unclear.

21. Lu Xiujing, *Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略 (Master Lu’s abbreviated classification of Daoist rites), in *Daoist Cannon Zhengtong daoang*, comp. 1445, suppl. 1607 (rpt. Shanghai: Hanfenlou, 1923–26; Taipei, 1962), 761:7a. The earlier example can also be seen in a title deed for land (A.D. 470) preserved in a text entitled *Guilin* 桂林, in which the owner also called himself *daomin*. See Chen Yuan et al., ed., *Daojia jinshi lue* (A concise collection of inscriptions on Daoist bronzes and stone carvings) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1988), 12.

22. See Yang Liansheng, ed. and annot., “Laojun yinsongjiejing jiaoshi (Annotated Laojun yinsongjiejing),” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica, Taipei* 28A (1956): 17–54, at 45.

23. The stele, now in the Yaoxian Museum, Shaanxi, is dedicated by the Wei Wenlang 魏文朗 family.

24. See Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 51.

25. James, "Some Iconographic Problems," 72.
26. The view was generally shared by Western and Chinese scholars; see Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō*, 29–36; Ding, "Cong Qiang Dule jian Zhou Wenwang," 52–62; James, "Some Iconographic Problems," 73; Yoshiko, "Lao-tzu in Six Dynasties Taoist Sculpture," 66.
27. Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1987): 263–303.
28. The Buddhist sage Vimalakirti is an exception. In Buddhist art of the fifth and sixth centuries, this figure shows an undeniable similarity in iconography to these Daoist deities. For the view that the iconography of this figure was modified under the influence of popular imagery of the immortals and Daoist divinities, see Liu Yang, "Leaning upon an Armrest: Gu Kaizhi's Vimalakirti and a Popular Daoist Iconographic Formula," in *The Admonitions Scroll: Ideals of Etiquette, Art and Empire from Early China*, ed. Shane McCausland (London: British Museum and Percival David Foundation, forthcoming).
29. Institute of Archaeology and Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau, *Mancheng hanmu fajue baogao* (A report on the excavation of the Han tomb in Mancheng), 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1980), 140, fig. 98.
30. For a description and discussion of jade suits and their ideological and ritual meaning, see Edmund Capon, *Princes of Jade* (London: Cardinal, 1973). According to Ge Hong (ca. A.D. 280–340), during the reign of Emperor Jing 景帝 of the Wu kingdom (r. 258–280), soldiers unearthed a tomb in Jiangling (in present-day Nanjing) in which they found a jade figure held in the deceased's arm. Ge commented, "The function of such a practice was to protect the deceased from decay with the aid of the jade figure." See Wang Ming 王明, ed. and annot., *Baopuzi* (He who embraces simplicity) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1980), 332.
31. The sacrificial offering to Shangdi or Taiyi 太一 (Grand Unity) in Han times was accompanied by the display of images. *Shiji* relates that Emperor Wu "built the Ganquan Palace, in which was a storied chamber painted with pictures of Heaven, Earth, the Grand Unity, and all the other gods and spirits." See Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 1355–1404. Jeffrey Riegel, "Kou-Mang and Ju-shou," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989–90): 80–83, considers this jade figure the earliest representation of Dong Wanggong.
32. By the time the sacrificial odes of the *Shijing* 詩經 were collected, the story of the Herdsman and the Weaver-girl had already emerged, as seen in "Dadong 大東" of the Xiaoya 小雅 section. During the Han dynasty the story was a popular motif in both literature and art. For the story, see Yuan Ke, *Shenhua xuanyi baili* (A hundred ancient myths interpreted in modern language) (Shanghai: Shanghaiju Press, 1980), 83–88. See also E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1922), 18–91.
33. Editorial Committee for Treasures of Chinese Arts, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Treasures of Chinese arts), 60 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1985–89), vol. 2: *Sculpture*, pls. 34–35.
34. Gu Tiefu, "Xi'an fujin suojian de Xi Han shidiao yishu (The art of Western Han stone carvings preserved at the area around Xi'an)," *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 11 (1955): 3–11; Shaanxi Provincial Museum, ed., *Xi'an lishi shulue* (A concise history of Xi'an) (Xi'an: Shaanxi Renmin Press, 1959), chaps. 3, 5.
35. See Ban Gu, "Xidufu 西都賦 (An essay on the western capital)," in Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (History of the later Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1965), 1348. See also Zhang Heng 張衡 (A.D. 78–139), *Xijingfu* 西京賦 (An essay on the western capital)," in *Zhaoming wenxuan* 昭明文選 (Anthology of essays selected by the prince Zhaoming), ed. Xiao Tong 蕭統 (A.D. 501–531) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1985), 36.
36. *Wenwu* 1988, 5:91, figs. 1–2.
37. Tang Chi, "Zhongguo shiqian zhi Qin-Han de shidiao-yishu (The art of sculpture in China from the prehistoric period to the Qin-Han dynasties)," in *Ancient Chinese Buddhist Sculpture: The C. K. Chan Collection*, ed. C. K. Chan (Taipei, 1989), 213–18, at 216.
38. Sima, *Shiji*, 2970; Ban Gu, *Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1962), 3849.
39. The story of the famous golden statue captured by the Han general Huo Qubing 霍去病 in the region of Kara-nor also relates to Xiu Tu. In the earliest sources this statue is called "the golden man [used by] the King of Xiu Tu in sacrificing to Heaven." See Sima, *Shiji*, *juan* 18; Ban, *Hanshu*, *juan* 68 and 94.
40. Wang Chong, *Lunheng*, ed. and annot. Liu Pansui (Beijing: Guji Press, 1957), 331. Cf. Alfred Forke, *Lun-heng* (rpt. New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962), 354–55. The same story is recorded in great detail in Ban, *Hanshu*, 2959–60.
41. The original carving of the story in Wuliangci is seriously damaged. According to a surviving cartouche, the missing image is a portrait of Jin's father, the King of Xiu Tu. Apparently the designer of Wuliangci deliberately altered the identity of the deceased from female to male. The *Jinshisuo*'s reproduction agrees more with the literary record than with the original Wuliangci carving. Cf. Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 298.
42. Feng Yunpeng 馮雲鵬 and Feng Yunyuan 馮雲鵠, *Jinshisuo* (Shanghai: Wenxin ju, 1821), *Shisuo* 石索 (Section on stone carvings), 3:10.



43. Liu Xiang's text is preserved in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed encyclopedia of the Taiping era), comp. Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al. (983; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1960), *juan* 396, p. 1832. Other versions of the story appear in Gan Bao 干寶 (active ca. A.D. 350), *Soushenji* 搜神記 (In search of the sacred), ed. and annot. Wang Shaoying (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1979), 249.
44. This record is quoted in *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 1909. For Sun Sheng (fourth century A.D.), see Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578–648), *Jinshu* (History of the Jin dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1974), 2147.
45. An inscription above the statue indicates the picture's content: "Ding Lan: / When both his parents passed away, / He erected a wooden statue resembling his father. / A neighbor came to borrow something; / Only after having reported [to the statue] did [he] lend it [to the person]." See Feng and Feng, *Jinshisuo*, *Shisuo*.
46. On the Han quest for immortality, see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1979) and *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1982); Yu Yingshi, "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964–65): 80–120.
47. The earliest reference to this belief is in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, which relates that the ancient hero Yi 羿 obtained this drug from Xi Wangmu, but his wife stole it and flew away with it to the moon. See Liu An 劉安 (?–122 B.C.), *Huainanzi*, annot. Liu Wendian (Shanghai: Shangwu Press, 1926), *juan* 8.
48. Yoshito Harada, *Lo-Lang: A Report on the Excavation of Wang Hsu's Tomb in the "Lo-Lang" Province* (Tokyo: Toko-Shoin, 1930), pl. 57.
49. Shandong Provincial Museum and Shandong Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics, *Shandong huaxiangshi xuanji* (Selection of the stone reliefs from Shangdong) (Jinan: Qilu shushe Press, 1982), fig. 181.
50. *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, vol. 18: *Painting*, fig. 248.
51. For a comprehensive study of the *sanhuang* and *wudi*, see Gu Jiegang and Yang Xiangkui, *Sanhuang kao* (A study of Sanhuang) (Beijing: Harvard and Yanjing Institute, 1936).
52. Umehara Sueji, *Kan sangoku rokucho kinen kyo zusetzu* (Selection of dated bronze mirrors of the Han, Three Kingdoms, and Six Dynasties period) (Kyoto: Imperial University, 1944), pl. 5.
53. Umehara Sueji, *O-Bei ni okeru Shina kokyo* (Selected relics of ancient Chinese bronze from collections in Europe and America) (Osaka: Yamanaka & Co., 1933), pl. 96. The mirror is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
54. For a more detailed survey, see Liu, "Manifestation of the Dao," 1–70.
55. Wu Hung, *Wu Liang Shrine*, 133–41.
56. See Hayashi, *Shunju Sengoku jidai seidoki no kenkyū*, 305, fig. 11–8. For more examples, see Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade: From the Neolithic to the Qing* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 43, fig. 31a–d; 282, pl. 19:1 and fig. 1. Apart from pictorial materials found in central China, the 1986 discovery of a number of bronze heads and a complete figure of the late Shang period in Sanxingdui, Guanghan, Sichuan, further supports this long tradition of iconic composition. Yet, as many scholars agree, the range and type of items found in the Sanxingdui sacrificial pits belonged to a culture whose beliefs and practices were quite unlike anything known to date. The evidence found at Sanxingdui is therefore excluded from this study.
57. Archaeological Institute and Hubei Provincial Museum, *Zeng Houyi mu* (The tomb of Marquis Zeng) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1989), fig. 21.
58. Lianyungang Municipal Museum, "Lianyungang shi Kongwangshan moyao zaoxiang diaocha baogao (An investigative report on the cliff sculptures in Mount Kongwang, Lianyungang)," *Wenwu* 1981, 7:1–7, fig. 1. Most of the 105 figures have been identified as Buddhist. This area, the sea coast at the border of present-day Shandong and Jiangsu provinces, was where *fangshi* and the school of immortality, as well as religious Daoism, originated and flourished. Around the end of the second century Taiping Dao came to dominate this area, followed during the Wei-Jin period by the Celestial Master sect, or Tianshi Dao. According to Chen Yinke, more than 90 percent of the followers of this sect were either natives of the coastal area or came from families living there. See Chen Yinke, "Tianshidao yu binghai diyu zhi guanxi (The relation of Tianshi Dao to the eastern coastal districts)," *Chen Yinke xiansheng quanji* (Complete works of Mr. Cheng Yinke) (Taipei: Jiushi Press, 1977), 1:365–404. *Suishu* also states: "Followers of the Celestial Master sect are increasingly numerous as one reaches the Three Wu and coastal areas." See Wei, *Suishu*, 1094. Moreover, the Donghai district, where Mount Kongwang is located, was especially dominated by Daoism. Ge Hong, the most important Daoist personality of the time, was born in this region. The most convincing evidence relating the Mount Kongwang carvings to Daoism is the Temple of the Divine Master of the East Sea, whose name occurs frequently in important Daoist works such as the *Taipingjing* (The classic of the peace) and Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (465–536) *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (Secret teaching for ascending to immortality) and *Zhen'gao* (Declarations of the perfected). Although now lost, this temple used to be located at the foot of Mount Kongwang. See Ding Yizhen, "Kongwangshan beiban keshi

kao (An investigation of the *beiban* carvings in Mount Kongwang),” *Wenwu* 1984, 8:30–33. Scholars believe that some of the carvings on the rocky cliffs of Mount Kongwang were related to this Daoist temple. See Yu Weichao and Xin Lixiang, “Kongwangshan moya zaoxiang de niandai kaocha (A study of the date of the cliff sculptures at Mt. Kongwang),” *Wenwu* 1981, 7:8–15.

59. Because of the toad-shaped stone in the right foreground and bird-shaped stone in the left foreground, some Chinese scholars believe that this figure represents Xi Wangmu. See Li Hongfu, “Kongwangshan zaoxiang zhong bufeng tica de kaoding (An interpretation of some cliff sculptures at Mt. Kongwang),” *Wenwu* 1982, 9:66, fig. 1.

60. *Wenwu* 1981, 7:pl. 2-1, 2.

61. *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, vol. 18: *Painting*, pl. 48.

62. Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Bureau, *Anping donghan mu bihua* (Murals of Eastern Han tombs excavated in Anping) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1990), fig. 40.

63. Yan Shigu 顏師古 of the Tang dynasty, in his annotation on *Hanshu*, provides an explanation of this object. See Ban, *Hanshu*, *juan* 76, “Biography of Zhang Chang,” 3223.

64. Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology et al., “Shanxi Xiaxian Wangchun donghan bihuamu (The Eastern Han tomb and murals excavated at Wangchun in Xiaxian, Shanxi),” *Wenwu* 1994, 8:39, pls. 11–12.

65. Huang Minglan and Guo Yinqiang, *Luoyang hanmu bihua* (Tomb murals in Luoyang) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1996), 181.

66. That is why J. M. James, “An Iconographic Study of Two Late Funerary Monuments” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1983), 84–91, identifies an homage scene on the west wall of the tomb at Feicheng, Shandong, as representing the life of the next world.

67. *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1988, 2:pl. 4:3. The *sheng*, or characteristic headdress, is one of Xi Wangmu’s most important attributes; see Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, 104–5.

68. S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art* (London: Board of Education, 1910), 1:fig. 16, legend. The homage scene is also illustrated in Wu, *Wuliang Shrine*, fig. 73.

69. See Hong Qingyu, “Guanyu Dongshoumu de faxian he yanjiu (About the discovery and study of the Dongshou tomb),” *Kaogu* 1959, 1:27–35, figs. 5–6. See also Korean Pictorial Co., ed., *Murals of Koguryo Tumulus* (Tonggyong: Choson Hwabosa, 1985), pls. 1–2.

70. See Korean Pictorial Co., ed., *Murals of Koguryo*, pl. 54.

71. Based on Archaeological Team of the Liaoning Provincial Museum, “Chaoyang yuntaizi Dongjin bihuamu (Murals of the Eastern Jin tombs excavated at Yuntaizi in Chaoyang),” *Wenwu* 1984, 6:29–45, pl. 5:2.

72. Li Qingfa, “Liaoyang Shangwangjia cun Jindai bihuamu qingli jianbao (A brief report on the excavation of the murals of the Jin tomb at Shangwangjia in Liaoyang),” *Wenwu* 1959, 7:60–62, fig. 8.

73. This description is based on an archaeological report published in *Wenwu*, yet the accompanying illustration does not show such features as the *zhuwei* and the hands. See Yunnan Provincial Archaeological Team, “Yunnansheng Zhaotong Houhaizi Dong-Jin bihuamu qingli baogao (A report on the excavation of the Eastern Jin tomb and murals at Houhaizi in Zhaotong, Yunnan province),” *Wenwu* 1963, 12:1–6, p. 2, and pl. 1.

74. See Tan Bangjie, “Guanyu zhenjia shibuxiang (About the true and false Sibuxiang),” *Guangming Daily*, 31 March 1980, p. 4.

75. Li You 李尤, “Zhuwei ming 塵尾銘 (In praise of *zhuwei*),” in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Collection of imperial books in four bibliographic categories), comp. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) et al. (1787; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1988), 889:134.

76. See Huang and Guo, *Luoyang hanmu bihua*, 192–93, pls. 5–6.

77. For *qingtan* activities, see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), chap. 3.

78. *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A new account of tales of the world) recorded many such stories. See Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (420–479), *Shishuo xinyu*, annot. Yu Jiaxi (Shanghai: Guji Press, 1993).

79. Replying to a query about why the *zhuwei* was always beside him, the famous monk Fachang 法暢 said: “The honest will not accept it [if I give it to him], the greedy will not be granted it, therefore it is always beside me.” See Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Lives of eminent monks), in *Taishō shinshū Taizōkyō*, 50:322–424, *juan* 4, p. 2059. See also Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu*, *juan* 2, p. 111.

80. Pei Qi 裴啟 (Jin dynasty), *Yulin* 語林 (The forest of comments), quoted in the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Categorized collection of literary writings), comp. Ouyang Xun et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1965), *juan* 67; see *Siku quanshu*, vols. 887–88.

81. Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 140, p. 2722, “Biography of Shi Le.”

82. See Zhouli, in *Shisanjing* 十三經 (Thirteen classics)



(Beijing: Guoji Wenhua Press, 1995), vol. 1, section 3.

83. *Shangshu* 尚書 (Classic of documents), in *Shisanjing*, vol. 1, is a text compiled in the late Shang and early Zhou; it describes how King Cheng 成王 (r. ca. 1042/35–1006 B.C.), dressed in imperial robes, was seated leaning on a jade *ji*. See “Guming 顧命,” in *Zhoushu* 周書 (Book of Zhou) section.

84. Zhang Hua, “Yiji ming 倚几銘 (In praise of the leaning *ji*),” cited in *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 710, p. 3163b.

85. See *Liji* 禮記, section 8, in *Shisanjing*, vol. 1. The custom continued during the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Wendi 文帝 (r. 220–226) once showed his respect for an aged official by giving him a pair of *ji* and *zhang*. See Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, *Weizhi* 魏志 (History of the Wei dynasty) section, *juan* 2. In the Jin dynasty, a courtier named Wei Shu 魏舒 was too old to attend an audience with the emperor, so a *ji* and a *zhang* were bestowed upon him, and his absence from the audience was excused. See Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 41, “Biography of Wei Shu,” p. 1187.

86. Use of the *ji* was strictly regulated, with emperors using the jade *ji*, while lords and marquises used the wooden *ji*. See Ge Hong, *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (Miscellaneous record of the western capital), cited in *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 710, p. 3163.

87. For instance, when Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r. A.D. 25–57) had just come to the throne, he appointed a courtier from the preceding emperor’s reign and bestowed upon him a pair of *ji* and *zhang*. See *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 (The eastern lodge record of the Han dynasty), cited in *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 710, p. 3162b.

88. See *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (Classic of the mountains and seas), annot. Yuan Ke (Shanghai: Shanghai guji Press, 1980). *Hanwudi neizhuan* 漢武帝內傳 (Unofficial account of Emperor Wudi), cited in *Taiping yulan*, vol. 4, *juan* 710, relates that Emperor Wudi made a special golden *ji* on which to place the *Wuyue zhenxingjing* 五嶽真形經 (Classic of the true forms of the five mountains) that Xi Wangmu had bestowed on him.

89. Nagahiro Toshio, *Kandai gazo no kenkyū* (A study of Han dynasty stone reliefs) (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1965), 29, fig. 29.

90. Chen, *Sanguo zhi*, 374.

91. For instance, when Emperor Gaodi (r. 479–482) of the Southern Qi gave a *yinji* and a *zhuwei* to Kong Zhigui (447–501), an eminent scholar from a Daoist family, the ruler nearly repeated Cao Cao’s words. See Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (ca. 386–534), *Nan Qishu* (History of the Southern Qi) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1958), *juan* 48, “Biography of Kong Zhigui.” For the association of the Kong family with Daoism, see Chen, “Tianshidao yu binghai diyu zhi guanxi,” 385ff.

92. See *Mingyuan* 名苑 (The pleasance of renown), a text as-

signed to the Six Dynasties period, cited in Wu Ceng (Song) 吳曾, *Nenggaizhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄 (Extensive record of Nenggai Studio) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1960), *juan* 2, p. 36; Yü Xin 庾信 (513–581), *Yüzishan ji* 庾子山集 (Anthology of writings by Yü Zishan) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1980).

93. Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 88, p. 2290.

94. Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (?–527) commented: “Wu Meng is the man who attained the Dao by hiding himself in a mountain.” See *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 (Annotated classic of waters), annot. Wang Guowei (Shanghai: Shanghai renming Press, 1984), *juan* 39. Gan Bao recounted the same story, adding: “His art of the Dao became widely known.” See *Soushenji*, *juan* 1, p. 13. For an account of Wu Meng’s life, see Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 96. See also K. M. Schipper, “Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T’ang Dynasty,” in *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, ed. Strickmann, 3:812–34, at 814–16.

95. See Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 95, p. 5620.

96. Xiao, *Nan Qishu*, 374.

97. In *Daozang yaoji xuankan* (Selection of important texts from the Daoist canon), ed. Hu Daojing et al. (Shanghai: Guji Press, 1989), 591.

98. *Kuaiji dianlu* 會稽典錄 (Canonical record of Kuaiji), a text compiled during the Six Dynasties period. Cited in *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 710, p. 3163a. A Southern Song (420–479) scholar-recluse, Shen Linshi 沈麟士, was also reported to have a blank *ji* and a zither as accouterments of daily life. See Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 612–678), *Nanshi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1974), *juan* 76, p. 1892.

99. See Xiao, *Nan Qishu*, *juan* 48, “Biography of Kong Zhigui.”

100. During the Tang dynasty, the *zhuwei* was replaced by a scepter (*ruyi* 如意) or *zhang* 璋 in some Daoist images.

101. Cf. Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yun-kang*, *Text*, 2:89.

102. See Roy C. Craven, *Indian Art: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 46.

103. See Xuanzang, *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Records of the western region of the Tang dynasty), *juan* 1, *Taishō shinshū Taizōkyō*, 51:872c.

104. See J. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 84.

105. As seen in the painted bodhisattva figures in cave 272, Dunhuang, which is generally dated from the period of the

Northern Liang dynasty, before Dunhuang was conquered by the Northern Wei in 439. Cf. R. Whitfield, *Dunhuang, Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road* (London: Textile & Art Publications, 1995), 1:11, pl. 6; 2:272.

106. For instance, one of the most popular types of drapery in Longmen, different from the early type in which the drapery is tucked in around the knee, is that of the cross-legged figure seated on a throne over the edge of which falls the skirt of his robe, arranged in elaborate folds and pleats. In Yungang, such figures apparently appear in certain late caves—for instance, on the west wall, upper niche, cave XXVI, and on the lower north niche, cave XXIX. See J. O. Caswell, *Written and Unwritten: A New History of the Buddhist Caves at Yungang* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 62. Daoist sculpture seems to have followed this change in style toward the end of the second decade of the sixth century.

107. Wu Shanshu 武善樹 states that “Since the Northern Wei, the use of images had been growing, due to the continuous wars and natural disasters that occurred when Buddhism was first introduced into China. Therefore people gathered together to pray to Buddha in order to save themselves from death or being wounded. . . . Beside Buddha’s images, people also carved appellations, such as *yizi* 邑子, *daoshi*, as well as their grandfathers’, parents’, brothers’ and children’s names on the stelae, in order to seek blessings for their country and themselves.” See Wu Shanshu, *Shaanxi jinshi zhi* 陝西金石志 (Record of the stone carvings and bronzes from Shaanxi), in *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 (Extensive record of the history of Shaanxi province), comp. Shen Qingyao 沈青崖 et al., *juan* 18, p. 18, in *Siku quanshu*, vols. 551–56. Wu’s comment also applies to Daoist sculpture.

108. See Ashton, *Introduction*, 63.

109. For instance, *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (Records of customs) relates that during the Eastern Han period people worshipped two divine beings, Shentu 神荼 and Yulei 鬱壘, who were believed to watch and control demons. This custom originated with the Yellow Emperor, who had prepared a ritual in which large peach-wood representations of Shentuo and Yulei were set up, tigers were painted on gates, and rush ropes were hung up to ward off evil demons. See Ying Shao 應劭 (fl. 189–194), *Fengsu tongyi*, annot. Wu Shuping (Tianjin: Renmin Press, 1980), 306.

110. Sima, *Shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1388. See also B. Watson, trans., *Records of the Historian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 2:42.

111. In *Siku quanshu*, 463:68.

112. *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家語 (The family conversation of Confucius), ed. and annot. Chen Shike (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian Press, 1987), 11:72.

113. On the importance of Kou Qianzhi’s role, see Mather, “K’ou Ch’ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy,” 103–22; Fukui Kōjun et al., *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* (A basic study of Daoism) (Tokyo, 1952), 1.

114. Wei, *Weishu*, 3051–52. The English translation is cited from James Ware, “The Wei-Shu and the Sui-Shu on Taoism,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 53.3 (1933): 215–50, at 233, with a small alteration.

115. See Yang, “Laojun yinsong jiejing,” 51.

116. Yang, “Laojun yinsong jiejing,” 48.

117. See Wang Ming, ed. and annot., *Taipingjing hejiao* 太平經合校 (Annotated classic of the peace) (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1960), 13, 21, 27–28, 292.

118. The text is assumed to have been completed by Zhang Lu (early third century). See Rao Zongyi, ed. and annot., *Laozi xiang'erzhu jiaozhu* (Annotated Xiang'er commentary of Laozi) (Hong Kong: Tong Nam Press, 1956), 18.

119. See Wang Ming, annot., *Baopuzi*, *juan* 18, p. 279. The term *The One* recalls the Han worship of the Taiyi or Grand One as the highest god. The practice is also the focus of *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture of the Yellow Court), a text mentioned by *Baopuzi*, and was known from the mid-fourth century on. Cf. Isabelle Robinet, “The Book of the Yellow Court,” in Robinet, *Taoist Meditation*; see also Stephen R. Bokenkamp, ed., *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 149ff.

120. Wang, annot., *Baopuzi*, *juan* 18, p. 279.

121. See Wang, annot., *Baopuzi*, *juan* 18, p. 296. For a discussion of this practice, see Ren et al., *Zhongguo Daojiaoshi*, 137–39.

122. After Zhang Lu’s (successor of Zhang Ling 張陵, founder of the Celestial Master sect) surrender to Cao Cao in 215, he and many of his followers moved north. It is reasonable to assume that some of the members of the late New Celestial Master school might have been adherents of the migrants from Sichuan. Kou Qianzhi’s relation to the eastern coastal area can be gauged from the fact that he spent many years of his youth in Donglai (in present-day Laizhou, Shangdong), when his father was prefect of the district. Cf. Chen Yinke, “Tianshi dao yu binhai diyu zhi guanxi,” 377.

123. Wei, *Suishu*, 1094. The English translation is from Ware, “The Wei-Shu and the Sui-Shu on Taoism,” 248.

124. The coffin was excavated from a tomb at Guyuan, Ningxia, dating to the Taihe 太和 reign (477–499) of the Northern Wei dynasty. See Cultural Relics Bureau of Guyuan County,



“Ningxia guyuan beiweimu qinglijianbao (A brief report on the excavation of the Northern Wei tomb at Guyuan in Ningxia),” *Wenwu* 1984, 6:46–56, pl. 34; Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky and A. C. Soper, “A Northern Wei Painted Coffin,” *Artibus Asiae* 51.1/2 (1991): 5–20.

125. For the relation between Xi Wangmu and certain Daoist schools in Northern and Southern dynasties, see Suzanne E. Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 32–58.

*From Textbook to Testimonial: The  
Emperor's Mirror, An Illustrated  
Discussion (Di jian tu shuo / Teikan  
zushetsu) in China and Japan*

ABSTRACT

*The Emperor's Mirror, An Illustrated Discussion (Di jian tu shuo; in Japanese, Teikan zushetsu)* is a late Ming compendium of 117 anecdotes about Chinese emperors from the semi-legendary Yao to Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125). Each story is punctuated, annotated, explained, and accompanied by a lively narrative illustration. Created in 1573 by Senior Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng (1525–82) for the newly enthroned, nine-year-old Wanli emperor (r. 1572–1620), *The Emperor's Mirror* initially was a deluxe album containing handwritten texts and paintings. Almost immediately, Zhang published the work as a woodblock-printed book for wider circulation among officials, and it was quickly appropriated by commercial publishers for other markets. Taken to Japan, the illustrations inspired large-scale paintings on sliding doors and screens in the late Momoyama and early Edo periods. The present article thoroughly documents the origins and subsequent evolution of *The Emperor's Mirror* in China and Japan, examining the work's physical configurations and accompanying paratexts, to shed light on its changing functions and significance for different groups of patrons and viewers over more than four centuries.



FIG. 1.

*Pan Yunduan's edition of The Emperor's Mirror (Di jian tu shuo), 1573, illustration of story no. 8 (p. 8a), "Praying for rain in the mulberry grove (Sang lin dao yu)," block frame H: ca. 40 cm, Japanese Imperial Household Agency (500-64).*

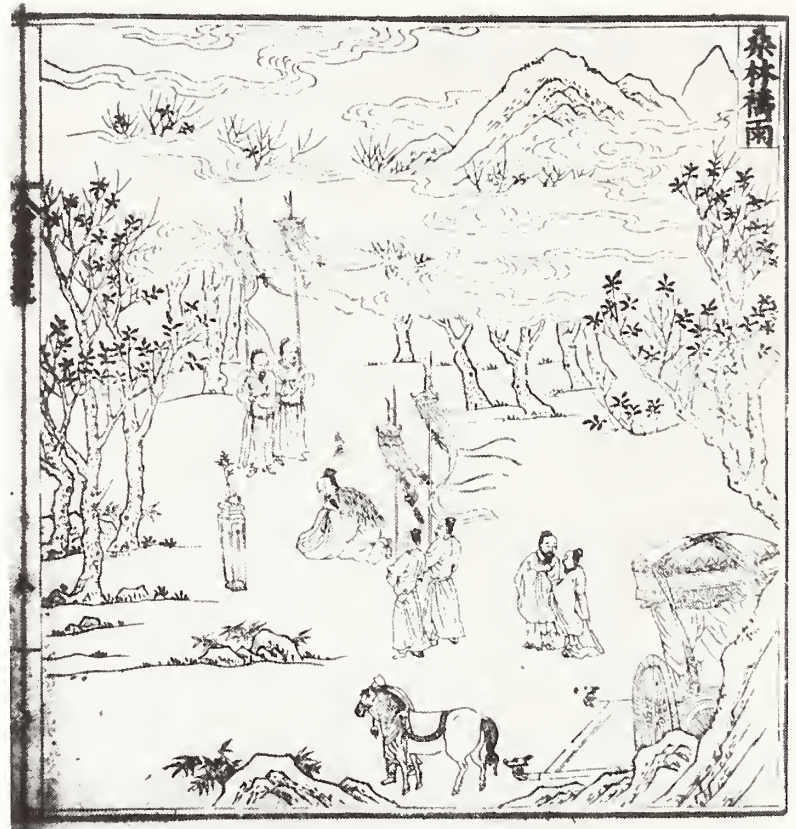
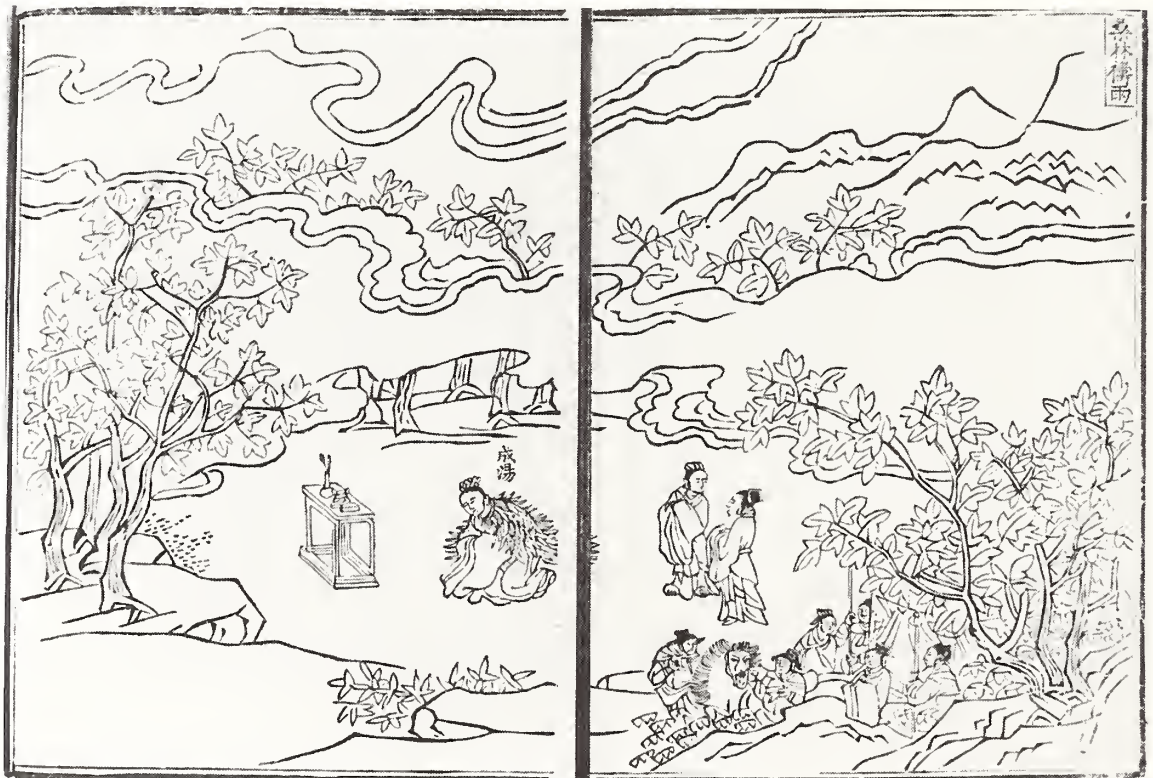


FIG. 2.

*Zhang Juzheng's edition of The Emperor's Mirror, 1573, illustration of story no. 8 (pp. 17ab), "Praying for rain in the mulberry grove," block frame H: ca. 20 cm, National Central Library, Taiwan (Rare Book no. 05239).*



RECENT STUDIES and exhibitions have explored the stimulating effect that woodblock-printed illustrated books imported from China had on Japanese art during the Momoyama and early Edo periods, particularly on paintings for the sliding doors and screens in the palaces of the shoguns.<sup>1</sup> Japanese artists adapted illustrations from Chinese books to create appropriate themes and styles that identified the shoguns with the ideological and cultural authority of China. The imported books included not only printed manuals of painting but also illustrated works concerning Chinese history, biography, and Confucian morality. Besides serving as source material for painters, some of these illustrated books were reprinted by Japanese publishers. Typically, the initial Japanese edition was very faithful to the Chinese work, while subsequent publications modified it to accord with Japanese interests, needs, or preferences. Likewise, later editions published in China might also differ substantially from the original book, as different groups appropriated it for new purposes.<sup>2</sup> The quality of production often varied considerably from one edition to another, as did the accompanying frontispieces, prefaces, and colophons. Publishers might also alter the content and organization of the core work, reformatting or even reconceptualizing its illustrations, in order to appeal to different categories of anticipated buyers and readers. The different configurations seen in multiple editions of a given book suggest the diverse social and cultural settings in which it might function and the variety of roles it might play. When pictures moved from one context into another, their meaning and significance changed, perhaps most dramatically when they entered another country and culture.

In this article, I trace the successive phases in the “life” of one late Ming illustrated book, *Di jian tu shuo* 帝鑑圖說, known in Japanese as *Teikan zusetsu*, which may be translated as *The Emperor’s Mirror, An Illustrated Discussion* (hereafter *The Emperor’s Mirror*). Prepared by Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–1582, *jìnshì* 1547) for the Wanli emperor (r. 1572–1620), the work contains 117 illustrated stories about emperors of earlier eras.

Published in at least three different editions in 1573 alone, the book reached Japan by the turn of the century and was first reprinted there in 1606. Examples of five different editions (two Japanese and three Chinese) have been displayed in recent exhibitions at the Machida Gallery of International Prints,<sup>3</sup> and studies by Kōno Motoaki, Kobayashi Hiromitsu, and Karen Gerhart have shown how artists of the Kano School adapted certain compositions from this book to create screen paintings for seventeenth-century shogunal palaces.<sup>4</sup>

Among scholars of Chinese culture, by contrast, the *The Emperor’s Mirror* has attracted less interest, although new editions of the book continued to appear through the Qing dynasty. Moreover, it has recently been published in the People’s Republic in two different editions, both of them extensively modified for contemporary readers who lack classical literacy: one version reproduces the pictures from an early edition but substitutes explanations in modern vernacular Chinese for the original texts;<sup>5</sup> the other features new pictures and annotated explanations of the stories in modern Chinese, along with transcripts of the original core texts and explanations.<sup>6</sup> In his introduction to the latter publication, Jia Naiqian of Tianjin Normal University has reconstructed the major editions of the *The Emperor’s Mirror* somewhat differently from the Japanese scholars.

My own research suggests that all of these studies make claims that are sometimes incompatible with the physical evidence of the books themselves and leave many interesting questions unexplored. For example, who sponsored the various editions and reprintings of *The Emperor’s Mirror*? What do their prefaces and colophons tell us about what the book meant to them, and who did they think should see it? What can we deduce about the likely viewers of each version, based on physical differences among the books themselves? How did the reception of *The Emperor’s Mirror* change in the course of several major political transitions from the late Ming period to the present? Here I will propose a more thoroughly documented account of the origins and subsequent evolution of *The Emperor’s Mirror* in China and, to a much lesser extent, Japan, examining its



varied functions and significance for different groups of patrons and users over time and space.

THE CREATION OF *THE EMPEROR'S MIRROR*:  
TEXTBOOK FOR A CHILD-RULER

In the sixth lunar month of 1572, the nine-year-old Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞 (1563–1620) ascended the throne, taking the reign name Wanli 萬曆 (“10,000 Ages”) at the start of the following year.<sup>7</sup> Although the boy had become heir apparent in 1568, he succeeded his father much earlier than expected when the Longqing 隆慶 emperor (r. 1567–72) died suddenly at the age of thirty-five. Senior Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng, then the most powerful official at court,<sup>8</sup> considered it essential to accelerate the child-emperor's preparation to assume his weighty responsibilities. Ambitious and committed to an authoritarian interpretation of Confucian ideals of governance, Zhang also recognized an opportunity to mold the impressionable young emperor into a model ruler. Fancying himself a latterday Duke of Zhou 周公 to the Wanli emperor's King Cheng 成王, Zhang used his authority as chief tutor to supplement the child's studies and ordered the Grand Secretariat to create an illustrated primer on the art of rulership.<sup>9</sup>

Under Zhang's general guidance, Grand Secretary Lü Tiaoyang 呂調陽 (1516–80, *jinshi* 1550),<sup>10</sup> Hanlin Academician Ma Ziqiang 馬自強 (1513–78, *jinshi* 1553),<sup>11</sup> and several lecturers in the Grand Secretariat collected two kinds of instructive stories about former emperors from a variety of historical texts: anecdotes about meritorious deeds that a Confucian ruler should emulate and cautionary tales about depraved actions that he should eschew. Exemplary emperors were those who demonstrated filial piety, promoted education and scholarship, accepted ministerial advice or remonstrations, concerned themselves with the welfare of the populace, and avoided self-indulgence and extravagance. The cautionary examples were rulers who shirked their responsibilities or behaved inappropriately, relied too much on unworthy favorites, spent lavishly for their own pleasure, or patronized the Buddhist or

Daoist religion. To turn the stories into an illustrated anthology of memorable and easily digested lessons, Lü Tiaoyang and his colleagues transcribed and punctuated the original accounts, translated them into simplified classical language, explained the proper names and difficult terms (sometimes using vernacular expressions), and provided each episode with a four-character title and a painting in which the main figures were identified by cartouche labels. The positive and negative examples were arranged in two separate volumes of an album under the respective headings *Sheng zhe fang gui* 聖哲芳規 (Honorable patterns of the sagely and wise) and *Kuang yu fu che* 狂遇覆轍 (Destructive tracks of the uninhibited and stupid). Zhang Juzheng himself wrote a moralizing general commentary (*shuo* 說) at the end of both sections to summarize their lessons.

Arranged in chronological order, the stories concern rulers from legendary antiquity through the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). In the section on models to imitate, there are eighty-one anecdotes about emperors from Yao 堯 to Song Zhezong 宋哲宗 (r. 1085–1100), while the cautionary section presents thirty-six tales about bad rulers from Taikang 太康 of the purported Xia dynasty to Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (r. 1100–1125). Many emperors are featured in more than one incident, and Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649) tops the list by figuring in thirteen accounts. Multiple stories about a single emperor usually appear in the same division of *The Emperor's Mirror*, suggesting that moral judgments pertained to his character as a whole, not to his individual deeds. This point is consistent with a basic precept of Chinese biographical writing, which presents a person's actions as the external manifestations or expressions of his/her inner character.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, three rulers are included in both the exemplary and cautionary volumes of *The Emperor's Mirror*: Han Chengdi 漢成帝 (r. 33–7 B.C.E.) has one entry in the model section and three in the admonitory one, Jin Wudi 晉武帝 (r. 265–290) has one story in each section, and Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (Ming Huang 明皇, r. 712–756) appears in six exemplary anecdotes and two cautionary ones. These exceptions suggest that character is not completely immutable but can

change for the better or worse, under certain circumstances. For instance, the otherwise unworthy Han Chengdi redeemed himself by accepting remonstrance from upright officials in the incident known as “Breaking the Balustrade.”<sup>13</sup> Tang Xuanzong provides a contrasting example of an emperor who began well but ended badly: at first he performed praiseworthy deeds, such as destroying luxury goods in the palace and forbidding extravagance,<sup>14</sup> and he personally examined the men selected to serve as district magistrates;<sup>15</sup> but after he came under the influence of Yang Guifei 楊貴妃, he favored unsavory individuals<sup>16</sup> and indulged his hedonistic urges.<sup>17</sup> The ambiguous models underline the importance of choosing worthy ministers and confidants.

When the compilation was complete, Zhang Juzheng drafted a memorial, cosigned by Lü Tiaoyang, to accompany the official presentation of *The Emperor’s Mirror* to the emperor on 21 January 1573.<sup>18</sup> He began by quoting unimpeachable authorities on principles of governance:

Your servants have heard that the Shang minister Yi Yin 伊尹 said to his lord, “Virtue is necessary for orderly governance (*zhi* 治); without virtue [there will be] chaos (*luan* 亂). If you share the path with orderly governance, you will not fail to flourish; if you share the path with chaos, you will not fail to be destroyed.”<sup>19</sup> Tang Taizong said, “Using copper to make a mirror, one can straighten one’s clothes and cap; using the past as a mirror, one can see flourishing and destruction.”<sup>20</sup> Because of this, your servants have studied the evidence concerning orderly governance and chaos and flourishing and destruction, which is recorded in earlier histories like the tracks of a carriage made manifest. In general, all who revered heaven and followed their ancestors, heeded advice and accepted remonstrance, were frugal and loved the people, treated sagely ministers as kin and kept petty men at a distance, worried constantly and remained diligent—they achieved orderly governance; and those who did not fear heaven or earth, did not follow their ancestors and clan, rejected remonstrance and

did wrong, made use of rapacious people, treated petty men as kin and kept sagely ministers at a distance, focused on pleasure and were idle and lazy—they achieved chaos.

In order to help the emperor grasp the rules of order and chaos, flourishing and destruction (*zhi luan xing wang* 治亂興亡), Zhang continued, he and his associates had compiled cases from history that demonstrated the important principles in actual practice. Zhang emphasized that unlike the earlier ministers Ban Bo 班伯 and Zhang Jiuling 張九齡, who sought only to admonish their rulers,<sup>21</sup> his compendium offered models of both “the good to imitate” (*shan ke wei fa* 善可為法) and “the bad to avoid” (*e ke wei jie* 惡可為戒).<sup>22</sup> Invoking the resonance of correlative *yinyang* numerology, he explained why there were eighty-one exemplary stories and thirty-six cautionary ones: “‘Good’ is very bright and auspicious, so we took nine nines, a number abundant in *yang*. ‘Bad’ is very dark and inauspicious, so we took six sixes, a number abundant in *yin*.” Extending Tang Taizong’s metaphor of history as a mirror in which past events are made visible, which inspired the title of *The Emperor’s Mirror*, Zhang proposed that pictures would impress the lessons of history more forcefully:

Seeing arouses feelings; therefore we availed ourselves of images in red-and-blue [i.e., painting]. We selected only the bright and clear, which are easily understood and therefore will not be rejected as vulgar.<sup>23</sup> . . . Seeing the good [models], take them as your teacher and follow them as if [afraid of] not measuring up; seeing the bad ones, take them as a warning and fear them as if touching boiling water. . . . The tracks of the earlier carriages are always a warning to the carriages that come later.

Finally, Zhang promised the emperor that he would be renowned and venerated for all eternity if he achieved the ideals that were set for him:

Therefore, naturally, if your every thought is completely pure, then every matter will be in



accord with principle; your virtue will compare with Yao and Shun's, and your orderly governance will equal theirs. And for 1,000 and 10,000 generations to come, there will again be rulers who set their minds on orderly governance and ministers who practice loyalty, and they will take the evidence of Your Majesty's achievement of governance now and paint it in reds and greens, in order to preserve it as a model to emulate.

In contrast to his detailed exposition of *The Emperor's Mirror's* didactic aims, Zhang Juzheng said almost nothing about the men who enabled this ambitious project to be completed in a matter of months. Acknowledging only Lü Tiaoyang and Ma Ziqiang by name, he slighted several other officials who participated in compiling, translating, annotating, editing, collating, and transcribing the texts.<sup>24</sup> And Zhang did not even allude to the artist(s) who illustrated the instructive anecdotes, undoubtedly because he considered the pictures valuable only as aids to understanding, with no pretensions to artistic eminence. In all likelihood, the paintings were made by palace artists, because the Grand Secretariat was part of the inner court, as were the agencies to which various kinds of artisans were attached.<sup>25</sup>

Initially, Zhang's enterprise was a great success. According to eyewitness accounts, the young emperor rose from his throne to accept the album from Zhang and started perusing it immediately, pointing to various pages and asking questions.<sup>26</sup> Appended to Zhang's memorial submitting the album is Wanli's official response (undoubtedly drafted for him):

We have looked at Our ministers' memorial and regard it as loyal, loving, and very sincere. When We imitate the ancients, the [models of] governance in the pictures will be profoundly useful. We welcome the picture album (*tu ce* 圖冊) and will keep it to look at. When We return it, it should be transmitted to the History Office to show the meaning of interaction and cultivation between Our rulers and ministers. Ministry of Rites, take notice.

Notations in the court *Diary of Rest and Repose* (*Wanli qiju zhu* 萬曆起居注) indicate that Zhang and the emperor continued to discuss *The Emperor's Mirror* in tutorial sessions over the course of the year, sometimes linking its lessons from history to contemporary concerns.<sup>27</sup> Thirty years later, the propitious effect of these sessions was recalled by Li Weizhen 李維禎 (1547–1616, *jinshi* 1568), who had been a Hanlin official at court in 1573:

[Zhang Juzheng] explained good models to emulate and bad examples to avoid from beginning to end, as well as reasons for goodness or failure. He made [the emperor] clearly understanding in his heart, majestic in his respectful obedience, and fearful in his apprehensive watchfulness. Therefore, prior to years *xin* 辛 [1581] and *ren* 壬 [1582, when Zhang died] the emperor did not lose virtue and the country did not have bad government.<sup>28</sup>

During the decade that the Wanli emperor spent under Zhang Juzheng's tutelage, he showed signs of developing into just the kind of model sovereign celebrated in his deluxe textbook. After the domineering minister passed away, however, the emperor began to neglect his responsibilities and eventually abdicated much of his authority to palace eunuchs. Although the vicious factional politics of the late Ming court and the hedonistic culture of its denizens were probably beyond any emperor's power to control, Wanli's rejection of imperial responsibility and his intransigence in later years were also in part a reaction against the unrealistic expectations that Zhang Juzheng had set for him. The pious tales of exemplary rulers contained in *The Emperor's Mirror* symbolized impossibly high, even inhumane, standards. Is it only a contemporary American sensibility that recoils from such lessons as "Respecting the worthy and hugging the sparrow-hawk," which recounts how the stern Tang minister Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643) forced Tang Taizong to suffocate the pet bird he had been fondling in order to teach him that an emperor is never frivolous while in court;<sup>29</sup> or "Looking at the tumulus and destroying the observatory," in which Wei obliquely reproaches Taizong

for wanting to gaze toward the tomb of his beloved empress rather than that of his father?<sup>30</sup>

The entertaining tales of depraved rulers in the latter part of *The Emperor's Mirror* also failed to condition the Wanli emperor to abhor conduct that transgressed Confucian ideals. Rather than just serving as warnings, the stories informed him of the sometimes novel ways that his predecessors had found pleasure amid the tedium of palace life and the tenacity with which some had pursued their own goals in defiance of annoying ministers. As Li Weizhen went on to say, "From the years *gui* 癸 [1583] and *shen* 申 [1584] on, court lectures have been few and the emperor's palace has become separated [from officialdom]. He has acted on fewer than one-tenth of the *tu shuo*'s 圖說 good models but has very frequently imitated the bad ones."<sup>31</sup> Li probably did not mean that the Wanli emperor had literally learned how to be a bad ruler from *The Emperor's Mirror* or even that he had consciously modeled himself on its cautionary examples but rather that the pattern of his later conduct fit that type. Nonetheless, Li's polemic may also be read as endorsing the idea that teaching from exemplars was a powerful way to mold character and illustrated stories about them especially effective with the young and impressionable, for better or worse.

#### ZHANG JUZHENG'S PUBLICATION OF *THE EMPEROR'S MIRROR*

Zhang Juzheng's reformist ambitions extended beyond his efforts to fashion an exemplary ruler; he also aimed to shape the conduct of high officials to assist in establishing an ideal social and political order. Soon after presenting *The Emperor's Mirror* to the emperor, Zhang published a woodblock-printed edition to disseminate among officials at the capital. There is, however, some confusion about this edition in recent scholarship. Scholars of Japanese art have assumed that a large printed album in the Japanese Imperial Household Agency represents an original "palace edition" (fig. 1).<sup>32</sup> Although this example is extremely high in quality, its colophons clearly indicate that it was not pro-

duced in the palace, as I will discuss below. Instead, Zhang's edition was smaller in format and more routine in quality, as represented by an example in the National Central Library, Taiwan (fig. 2).<sup>33</sup>

Jia Naqian has suggested, without referring to any extant example, that the first edition was published under the aegis of Feng Bao 馮保 (fl. 1530–83), the most powerful eunuch of the early Wanli era and head of the Directorate of Ceremonial (*Si li jian* 司禮監), the agency that controlled services to the Ming imperial household.<sup>34</sup> Zhang had developed a cooperative working relationship with Feng and often needed his help in accomplishing political objectives, but there is no reason to believe that Feng was behind the publication of *The Emperor's Mirror*. A later eunuch, Liu Ruoyu 劉若遇 (1584–ca. 1642), eulogized Feng as a cultivated and scholarly man "of the same mind (*tong xin* 同心)" as Zhang Juzheng and claimed that Feng had published several primers, including *The Emperor's Mirror*.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, Liu himself entered palace service only in 1601, long after Zhang and Feng had passed from the scene, and his account of palace life in the early Wanli period was not based on personal experience. Moreover, Liu had a personal need to portray eunuch enterprises in a favorable light because he was trying to exonerate himself from charges of complicity with the notorious Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568–1627), and he wrote the memoir while imprisoned from 1628 to 1641. No version of *The Emperor's Mirror* known at present bears any direct evidence of Feng Bao's participation, so perhaps the first edition was merely carved and printed by artisans who worked for agencies under his supervision.

Information in two ancillary texts that Zhang Juzheng solicited for the printed edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* makes it clear that it was he who took the initiative in publishing the compendium for broader distribution, soon after presenting the original album to the Wanli emperor. One text is a preface by the eminent Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (1509–1605, *jinshi* 1541), the Minister of Rites and a Hanlin academician, and the other is a postface (*hou xu* 後序) by Wang Xilie 王希烈 (*jinshi* 1553), also a Hanlin academician and Vice-Minister of Personnel,



who was temporarily in charge of the affairs of the household administration of the heir apparent.<sup>36</sup> Writing in the middle month of spring 1573, Lu reported that Zhang was having blocks carved from a duplicate version of *The Emperor's Mirror* that he had kept after submitting the compendium to the throne. Furthermore, Zhang had ordered officials in the Ministry of Rites (i.e., Lu's own subordinates) to collate the blocks because of the ministry's reputation for literary erudition. Two months later, Wang Xilie wrote that Zhang had shown him the work in progress and asked him to contribute the postface for it.

Both Lu and Wang devoted most of their discussions to the venerable tradition of using role models from the past as guides for the present, particularly as a strategy for instructing a young ruler. They also agreed that pictures were an effective means of stimulating interest in important principles and enhancing comprehension. Lu mentioned that Tang and Song emperors had screens illustrating the "No Pleasurable Ease" chapter (*Wu yi pian* 無逸篇) of the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書),<sup>37</sup> which "enabled rulers and ministers to have something tangible to embellish with words and pass on the facts afresh." Yet both men implied that *The Emperor's Mirror* represented a new level of pictorial guide, and Wang even insinuated that it surpassed the achievements of the great Shang and Zhou ministers. He further speculated that if the Wanli emperor

imitates the governance in the ancient pictures and benevolently employs wise ministers, he can inaugurate an era of great governance, thereby perpetuating the brilliance of the pictures and causing the reappearance of Tang Yu [i.e., Yao and Shun], the model emperors not only for Shang and Zhou but for 1,100 generations thereafter. . . . Thus, will not these pictures be considered classic instruction and their brilliance last forever?<sup>38</sup>

In concluding his remarks, Wang Xilie turned his attention to the officials, on whom Zhang hoped to exert moral influence by circulating a printed edition of the compendium, so that

contemporary officialdom (*jin shidafu* 今士大夫) will comprehend that what is urgent today is gentlemanly virtue (*jun de* 君德), not the administration of affairs (*zheng shi* 政事). . . . If everyone takes up his duty, then the ruler will be able to be a sage and governance will be able to flourish, and we can look forward to peace in the near future. This is why my lord [Zhang] also had it carved and disseminated.<sup>39</sup>

In a sense, Zhang Juzheng was arrogating to himself the imperial prerogative of disseminating books of exemplary stories to mold the officials. For example, in 1426 the Xuande 宣德 emperor had published the *The Mirror of Rulers and Ministers throughout the Ages* (*[Yu zhi] Lidai jun chen jian* 御制歷代君臣鑑), an anthology of didactic stories of earlier ministers, to bestow on his officials.<sup>40</sup> Like *The Emperor's Mirror*, it was a chronologically organized compendium of historical accounts followed by explanatory discussions, and the stories were divided into positive and negative role models under the headings "the good to imitate" and "the bad to avoid." But the stories were not illustrated, nor did their intended recipients need pictures to comprehend the texts. It is clear that something had changed over the next 150 years, because Zhang shows no sign of worrying that highly educated officials might be offended to receive an illustrated primer, when they obviously could understand the historical anecdotes without the aid of punctuation, translation, or pictures. His actions suggest that he believed that pictures brought the past to life, an idea increasingly widespread as the late Ming boom in illustrated woodblock-printed books fostered a new visual culture.<sup>41</sup> It is also possible that Zhang actually sold copies of the book to capital officials, who would have felt obliged to purchase a publication promoted by such a powerful individual.<sup>42</sup> In any event, Zhang's edition was produced in such numbers that multiple examples survive today.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the work was quickly appropriated by other publishers for a variety of reasons, as I will discuss below.

Both Lu Shusheng and Wang Xilie stated that Zhang Juzheng based his woodblock-printed edition

on a duplicate of the album that he had presented to the emperor.<sup>44</sup> In all likelihood, this duplicate was actually a master draft made for Zhang's approval before the production of the final painted version of *The Emperor's Mirror*. Although the presentation album is no longer extant, comparisons can be made because it too was reproduced in woodblock—the previously mentioned album in the Japanese Imperial Household Agency (fig. 1).<sup>45</sup> Extraordinarily large in size for a woodblock production, the printed facsimile probably approximated the dimensions of the now-lost painted album.<sup>46</sup> The pictures reproduced directly from it display consistently meticulous details and a high level of finish overall. By contrast, the illustrations in Zhang Juzheng's edition are often sketchy in the minor details, particularly trees and rocks, which probably were less carefully worked out in advance than the figures, buildings, and objects more crucial to the story (compare figs. 1 and 2). As recent scholarship on workshop practices has demonstrated, painters typically gave cursory treatment to lesser motifs in preliminary drafts, mainly indicating their types and placements and leaving the full articulation to the final version.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the perfunctory quality of subsidiary details in Zhang's printed edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* is consistent with the features of an advanced draft.

Unlike Zhang's edition, the large-sized printed replica of the painted album was neither produced in the Ming palace nor intended for wider circulation in the capital, despite its outstanding workmanship and materials. Two texts composed for the printed reproduction clarify the circumstances under which it came to be made. The earlier of the two is a postface by Wang Zongmu 王宗沐 (1523–91, *jinshi* 1544), dated in correspondence with 24 November 1573.<sup>48</sup> According to Wang, the “original version (*yuan ben* 原本)” was copied for transfer onto woodblocks in Huaian 淮安, Jiangsu, at the behest of Surveillance Commissioner (*anchashi* 按察使) Pan Yunduan 潘允端 (1526–1601, *jinshi* 1562), who wanted to preserve the work for posterity.<sup>49</sup> Pan had obtained it from his father, Pan En 潘恩 (1496–1582, *jinshi* 1523), who in turn had gotten it from the History Office while serving in the

capital.<sup>50</sup> Although the exact conditions under which Pan En acquired the painted album are unclear, his close friendship with Lu Shusheng undoubtedly facilitated the acquisition.<sup>51</sup> In all likelihood, Pan removed it from the palace in November 1573 and took it to Huaian upon retiring from his post in the Metropolitan Censorate immediately thereafter.<sup>52</sup> To commemorate his son's woodblock reproduction of the album, Pan En composed the other of the two texts unique to this edition, “Ode and Preface to *The Emperor's Mirror*” (*Di jian tu shuo song bing xu* 帝鑑圖說頌并序), dated in correspondence with 24 December 1573. Although he described his joy upon first learning of the album that Zhang Juzheng submitted to the emperor and endorsed the use of pictures and stories from history to explicate the Way, Pan did not comment directly on his son's project.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, the evident expense of the facsimile and the survival of only one example strongly suggest that it was created for private enjoyment rather than for propagation and wider distribution. Perhaps Pan Yunduan made it as a gift for his father's retirement.<sup>54</sup>

Pan Yunduan must also have had Zhang Juzheng's printed edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* at hand because he included its preface by Lu Shusheng and postface by Wang Xilie in his replica of the painted album. Pan did not, however, reproduce the submission memorial or the two tables of contents from Zhang's edition.<sup>55</sup> From the original painted album, he copied the large title frontispieces, *Sheng zhe fang gui* and *Kuang yu fu che*, and Zhang's concluding commentary to both sections, as well as the general format of the work. When opened, each pair of large, square facing leaves displays the illustration on the right and the accompanying text on the left; pagination in the center margin serves both pages. The title for each story, usually consisting of four characters, appears along the upper right edge of each picture. Cartouches within the composition itself identify the emperor and other important figures.

A physical comparison between Pan Yunduan's printed replica of the submitted album and Zhang Juzheng's disseminated edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* sheds light on their separate purposes and



FIG. 3.  
 Hu Xian's edition  
 of *The Emperor's*  
*Mirror*, 1573, illus-  
 tration of story no.  
 8 (pp. 17ab),  
 "Praying for rain  
 in the mulberry  
 grove (Sang lin dao  
 yu)," block frame  
 H: ca. 20.6 cm,  
 National Central  
 Library, Taiwan  
 (Rare Book no.  
 05240).



suggests that viewers would have experienced them differently. Pan's work was finely carved on enormous blocks and carefully printed on high-quality paper. In order to produce thin, even brushwork outlining the figures and buildings, the carver had to cut away intervening areas of the block to leave the lines in relief, while he rendered the landscape elements with subtly modulated contours. Because the replica is so large and fragile, a viewer must lay it flat on a table and carefully turn its pages, which are attached along the outer edges. Nonetheless, the size accommodates the complete presentation of a story on one pair of facing pages, with the illustration on the right and text on the left, as noted above. By contrast, Zhang's edition was carved on blocks of ordinary size and is unremarkable for its workmanship and materials. A much smaller stitch-bound book, it is easy to manipulate and convenient to carry around, but its smaller format obliges the reader to turn multiple pages in order to see everything related to a single story. Although each picture was carved on a single block, the printed sheet was then folded for binding, so the fold divides the illus-

tration into recto-verso pages and prevents it from being seen all at once. The accompanying texts are also divided by the page folds, and the longer explanations extend over multiple pages, requiring additional blocks. Frequently, the end of one text is seen together with the first half of the illustration to the next story. This linking of one story to another in Zhang's edition pulls the reader forward, while the static pairing of picture-and-text units in Pan's replica encourages the viewer to savor them slowly and deliberately. These qualities are consistent with the purposes for which the respective productions seem to have been intended: Zhang's edition provided a convenient and efficient means of addressing busy officials, while Pan's was conducive to leisurely, private enjoyment.

#### EARLY REPLICATIONS OF *THE EMPEROR'S MIRROR*

The ready availability of Zhang Juzheng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* made it vastly more important to the work's subsequent development than

Pan's facsimile replica, which amounted to an evolutionary dead end. Only a few months after Zhang published his edition in Beijing, the Nanjing commercial publisher Hu Xian 胡賢 reprinted the work from newly carved blocks in the winter of 1573 (fig. 3).<sup>56</sup> The pictures and texts in his edition are extremely similar to Zhang's (compare fig. 2), suggesting that Hu used an example as his prototype, creating a "recut edition" (*fanke ben* 翻刻本). Nonetheless, subtle differences between the two editions reveal certain practical changes to facilitate *The Emperor's Mirror's* entry into the broader marketplace. First of all, Hu revised the pagination to make it more convenient for the reader and more appealing to his potential customers. Not only did he move page numbers from the upper outer edges of the block frames into the pictorial space, where they are much easier to see, but he also revised the numbering system to make it more logical and intelligible.<sup>57</sup> Secondly, Hu Xian's publication exhibits a lower standard of quality throughout in carving, printing, paper, and editing.<sup>58</sup> Despite being closely based on Zhang's illustrations, Hu Xian's recut pictures initially look quite different because many pattern areas are solidly or partially inked within the outlines taken from the model. Broad areas of black in the printed picture correspond to uncarved parts of the woodblock, revealing compromises in the quality of carving in order to save time and money. Such variations greatly alter the visual aesthetic of the illustrations, perhaps making them look more like others available to the book-buying public. In the later portions of the book, the craftsmanship drops off sharply even from its initial level, a sign of hurried completion. Several of the pictures at the end of the book are so crude that they may actually be unfinished. Another indication that the publisher was not overly preoccupied with visual quality is the appearance of conspicuous registration marks (*heikou* 黑口) at the top and bottom of the centerline of each picture, straddling the page folds (see fig. 3). Their presence suggests that the blocks had been initially formatted for texts because such marks were typically used to frame the abbreviated information about the book given in the center column of a printed sheet, which would appear in the

margin after binding. Perhaps the publisher already had such formatted blocks in stock and, knowing his market, thought it unnecessary to remove the marks from those on which full-frame pictures were to be carved.

There is also a close connection among Zhang's edition, Hu Xian's edition, and at least two other recut editions that may have been commercially produced in Beijing just slightly later, although they do not bear a publisher's colophon.<sup>59</sup> The compositions in the anonymously published editions are virtually identical to Zhang's, but like those in the Hu Xian edition, they show extensive use of thick black lines, bands, and rectangular areas, which create strong contrasts of dark and light.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless, the exact placement of black areas differs in the three commercial editions, as does the page numbering, demonstrating that the variations are not due to idiosyncratic printing but to differences in the carved blocks.

With at least three separate commercial publishers producing *The Emperor's Mirror* only months after its initial publication at court, the book quickly became available to readers beyond the narrow confines of officialdom. Commercial republication also brought *The Emperor's Mirror* into a visual realm shared with increasingly large numbers of illustrated novels, dramas, and other books meant to entertain their readers. The very qualities that made *The Emperor's Mirror* accessible to a boy-emperor also made it potentially appealing to others of modest learning. Rather than being concerned with learning how to be a good ruler, such readers might find the book useful as a shortcut for acquiring cultural literacy because it presented a great deal of Chinese history in manageable portions and explained it clearly. The illustrated stories also appealed to Chinese readers' enduring interest in the exotic realm of the palace, which generations of storytellers had built up into a fantastic world of the imagination with larger-than-life heroes, villains, and *femmes fatales*. The expansion and diversification of printing in the mid to late Ming period made it possible for one group's didactic instruction to become another group's entertainment, particularly because the same designers, carvers, and publishers



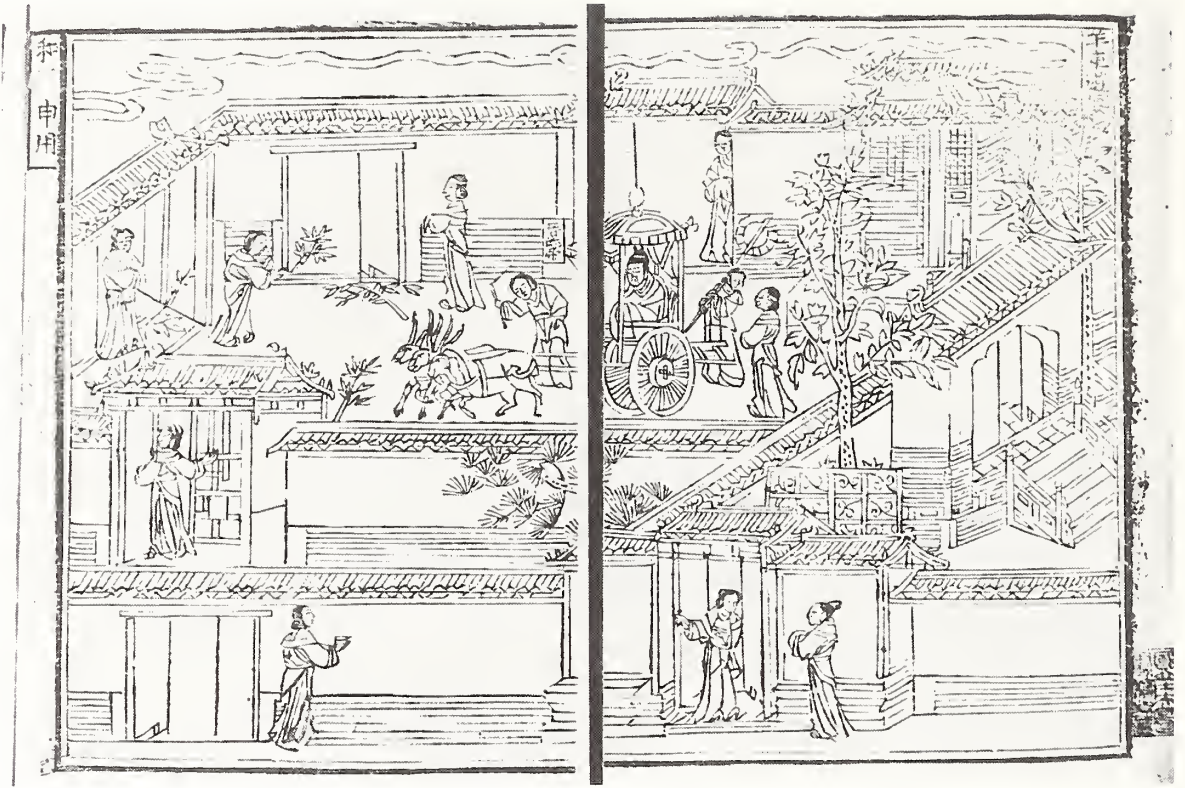


FIG. 4.

Guo Tingwu's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1575, illustration of story no. 100 (he [11] ce, pp. 1ab), "Traveling and feasting by goat carriage (Yang che you yan)," block frame H: ca. 20 cm, National Central Library, Taiwan (Rare Book no. 05242).

were involved in producing a range of illustrated books.<sup>61</sup> Pictures in books not only gratified late Ming readers' desires to "see" people and places that were otherwise inaccessible but also spread and shared evocations of the past across a broader social spectrum.

Besides entering the marketplace, Zhang Juzheng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* also inspired recut editions produced under the auspices of government officials, of which at least one example appeared before Zhang's death. In 1575, Investigating Censor Guo Tingwu 郭庭梧 (*jinshi* 1565) published a high-quality recut edition in Yunnan, a region perceived as backward.<sup>62</sup> The circumstances surrounding the publication are described in a preface written by Guo himself.<sup>63</sup> He states that he took along a copy of the book when he was assigned to the province in 1574 and showed it

to local officials, who urged him to reprint and distribute it to improve the inhabitants of this rustic area. Careful examination reveals that the blocks for Guo's edition were signed by approximately two dozen different carvers, some of whom may have been local minorities (fig. 4).<sup>64</sup> In addition to a few transliterated foreign names, there are several carvers with common surnames (Li 李 and Chen 陳), and six have personal names that include the character "print" (*yin* 陰), suggesting that certain families specialized in the craft. The large number of names implies that many carvers were assembled to execute the job quickly.

Guo Tingwu devoted most of his prefatory discussion to famous earlier precedents for educating young rulers and the methods by which their ministers had taught them. Giving pride of place to the Duke of Zhou, Guo says that whenever he read the

*Bin feng* 幽風 (Odes from the state of Bin, in the *Shi jing* 詩經) and the *Wu yi* section of the *Shang shu*, he was filled with admiration for the duke and the way he had instructed King Cheng in the principles of governance and the traditions of his ancestors. The duke had engaged the young king with stories about former rulers and poems about the people's livelihood, inspiring him to take the important principles to heart and become a good ruler. In later ages, when the deeds of former kings had receded further into the past, it was more difficult to make their positive and negative examples vivid to later rulers. Song ministers had tried to solve this problem by using the Duke of Zhou's ideas as the basis for pictures painted on screens, but these conveyed only part of his teaching, and their meaning was too often obscure. By contrast, Guo asserted, the range of stories compiled by Zhang Juzheng and his insightful explanations were worthy of comparison with the Duke of Zhou's accomplishment in instructing King Cheng. As Zhang Juzheng was just then approaching the peak of his power and influence, Guo Tingwu's flattering comments and his project of reprinting *The Emperor's Mirror* seem calculated to curry favor with the senior grand secretary. It may be no coincidence that Guo's next official posting was in Beijing, and he served in or near one of the two capitals well into the 1580s.<sup>65</sup>

#### EDITIONS OF THE LATER WANLI PERIOD

When Zhang Juzheng died in 1582, the Wanli emperor had him buried with great ceremony, canonized him as "cultivated and loyal (*wenzhong* 文忠)," and awarded him the posthumous title "superior pillar of state (*shang zhu guo* 上柱國)." Zhang's death freed the emperor from ten years of close supervision and marked his accession to full authority. Yet Zhang's many enemies lost little time in denouncing the late minister, and the emperor soon turned violently against his former mentor. In 1584 he stripped Zhang of his posthumous honors, confiscated his property, and persecuted members of his family.<sup>66</sup> Despite later attempts to persuade Wanli to reverse his harsh verdict, it was his grand-

son, the Tianqi 天啟 emperor (r. 1620–27), who reinstated Zhang to full honors in 1622. Between 1582 and 1622, while Zhang was officially in disgrace, anyone seeking to republish *The Emperor's Mirror* had to downplay Zhang's association with it. Accordingly, editions from this period omit Zhang's memorial, Lu Shusheng's preface, and Wang Xilie's postface because they referred too directly to Zhang's involvement in the creation of the work.<sup>67</sup> The deletions detached *The Emperor's Mirror* from its didactic origins and opened it to potentially broader uses and interpretations.

The most important edition to appear in the later years of the Wanli era was published in 1604 by Jin Lian 金廉, an obscure official who worked in the Central Drafting Office, which served the Grand Secretariat (figs. 5–6).<sup>68</sup> Although Jin's publication was based on a prototype in the Beijing palace,<sup>69</sup> it was not simply recarved from an earlier edition. Instead, Jin revamped the work in a manner that seems designed to appeal to connoisseurs of fine woodblock printing, as well as to gratify moralists. Unlike other editions, which were made by anonymous craftsmen, Jin's bears the signatures of two carvers, Huang Jun 黃綬 (1553–1620) and his son Huang Yingxiao 黃應孝 (1582–1662), who belonged to the renowned workshop of Anhui woodblock artists.<sup>70</sup> The 117 pictures were completely redrawn, and the carving and printing are of high quality. The book's layout was reformulated to enable a complete composition to appear on facing pages rather than being divided between recto and verso, so the reader does not have to turn the page to view it. Because of the constraints of bookbinding, this change meant that the two halves of the picture were carved on separate blocks. To avoid losing the middle of the picture to the gutter, the artists clearly separated the halves by placing them inside single-line rectangular frames.

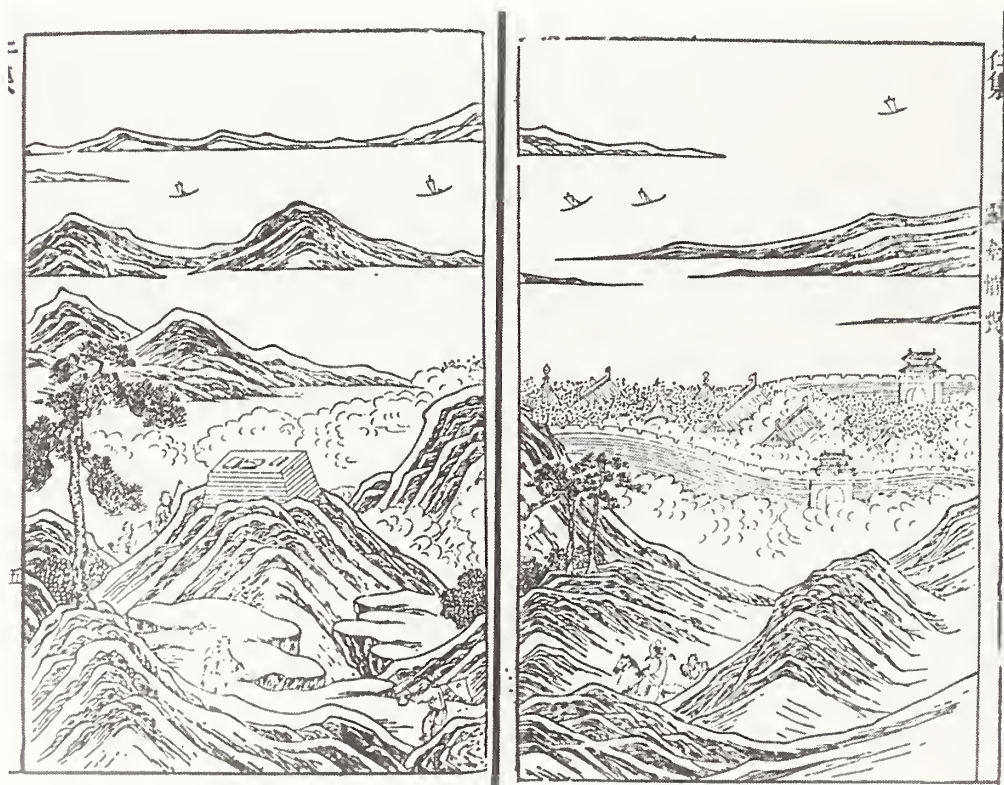
The redesign of *The Emperor's Mirror* in Jin Lian's edition modified the book for a more sophisticated viewer/reader by departing from the textbooklike format of Zhang Juzheng's version in a number of ways. Rather than labeling the participants and highlighting the title of each episode, the cartouches were discarded altogether and the titles



FIG. 5.  
Jin Lian's edition of  
The Emperor's Mir-  
ror, 1604, illustration  
of story no. 8 (zhi ji  
[first ce], pp. 17b-  
18a), "Praying for  
rain in the mulberry  
grove (Sang lin dao  
yu)," block frame H:  
ca. 21.4 cm, Beijing  
Library (Rare Book  
no. 14125).



FIG. 6.  
Jian Lian's edition of  
The Emperor's Mir-  
ror, 1604, illustration  
of story no. 21 (ren ji  
[second ce], pp. 4b-  
5a), "Begrudging the  
expense of an observa-  
tory (Lu tai xi fei),"  
block frame H: ca. 21.4  
cm, Beijing Library  
(Rare Book no. 14125).



shifted to a less conspicuous position along the right outside edge of the picture frame. In contrast to the rather prosaic illustrations in Zhang's edition, which always represent the main characters and significant motifs of the plot and setting within a limited repertoire of compositions, the pictures in Jin's edition are more varied and unpredictable. In Zhang's edition, many scenes are set in the palace and depict the emperor on his throne, attended by other small figures (e.g., figs. 7–8). The compositions are typically organized along a diagonal, convenient for accommodating the page breaks that divide the pictures in half but soon becoming monotonous. The overall uniformity of the illustrations nonetheless underscores the unifying didactic principle of the book: men of successive ages in the past serve as models to their counterparts in the present. Zhang Juzheng wanted the Wanli emperor and capital officials to learn from the exemplars who had played their roles in earlier times, and the repetitiousness of the pictures reinforced the point over and over again. By contrast, the pictures in Jin Lian's edition portray palace scenes from many different angles and at varying scales, and some illustrations do not immediately suggest a court setting at all. In an apparent effort to make the pictures interesting, the designer(s) often included scenery and paraphernalia that evoked the ambiance of contemporary Jiangnan. A late Ming viewer leafing through these illustrations would have savored their ever-varied points of view and references to his own visual culture.

Kobayashi Hiromitsu has suggested that the fine craftsmanship and aesthetic sophistication of Jin Lian's edition indicate a disavowal of the didactic program underlying Zhang Juzheng's *The Emperor's Mirror* and a lack of interest in the political functions of exemplary illustrations, which was supplanted by a modish interest in landscape and in purely artistic concerns.<sup>71</sup> To prove his case, Kobayashi compared the illustrations of "Begrudging the expense of an observatory" in Jin's and Zhang's editions (figs. 6–7).<sup>72</sup> The story tells how Han Wendi 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 B.C.E.) decided to build a lofty open-air terrace and summoned craftsmen to calculate the cost. When he learned that the structure

would require 100 *jin* 金, equivalent to the output of ten middle-level households, he gave up the idea as an unnecessary extravagance that would shame him before his ancestors, who had bequeathed him a spacious palace. The illustration in Zhang's edition (fig. 7) shows the emperor on his throne, responding to a man who kneels before him and gestures toward the outside. In the mountains beyond the palace wall, several people stand leaning on their tools and gazing toward a small square enclosure, the site intended for the structure. The outdoor scene is drawn to the same scale as the one in the palace, and the two realms are separated by cloud swirls; in effect, the viewer sees the emperor receiving the expense report and then, turning the page, the location proposed for the project. By contrast, the illustration in Jin Lian's edition (fig. 6) depicts a grand panorama of mountains, lakes, and a city wall with palace roofs visible within. In the foreground, surrounded by cloud swirls, three men with tools over their shoulders walk down from a hilltop surmounted by a large terrace, and a man on horseback and two attendants approach it from the opposite direction. The picture shifted the emphasis from the emperor's deliberations to the grandeur of the landscape, which seems well worth viewing, and the terrace seems to be in an advanced state of construction.

Although the ambiguity of the Jin Lian edition's rendition of "Begrudging the expense of an observatory" supports Kobayashi's argument, this particular illustration actually is an anomaly and not a fair representative of Jin's edition as a whole. Most of Jin's pictures preserve the core elements of Zhang's compositions, particularly the interactions among the major figures, even though they might be placed in new surroundings and depicted with greater subtlety (e.g., compare figs. 2 and 5). Furthermore, the revised illustrations usually are faithful visualizations of their accompanying stories. Finally, if Jin had intended his edition to serve a substantially different purpose, then he probably would also have made changes in the texts that accompany the pictures. As it is, his alterations are of the most minor sort. Although he removed blatant references to Zhang Juzheng, he kept the



FIG. 7.  
Zhang Juzheng's  
edition of *The  
Emperor's Mir-  
ror*, 1573, illus-  
tration of story  
no. 21 (pp.  
51ab), "Be-  
grudging the ex-  
pense of an obser-  
vatory (Lu tai xi  
fei)," block frame  
H: ca. 20 cm,  
National Cen-  
tral Library,  
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Book no. 05239;  
reproduced from  
microfilm).

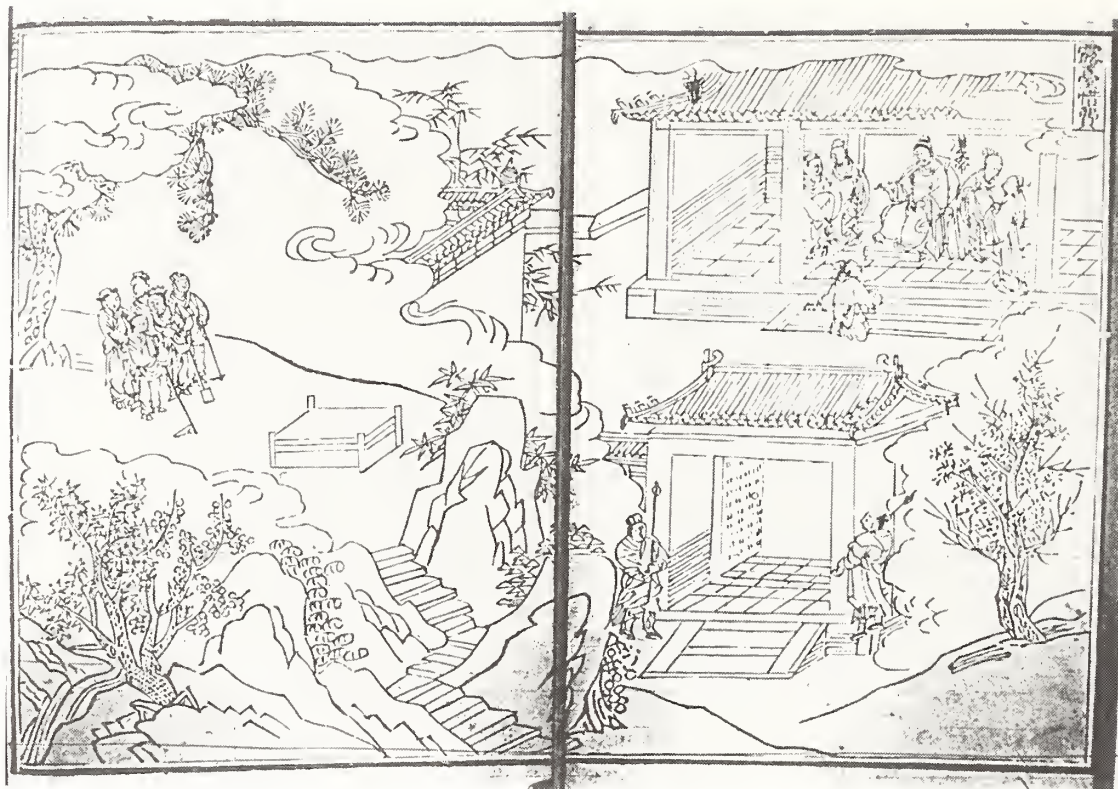
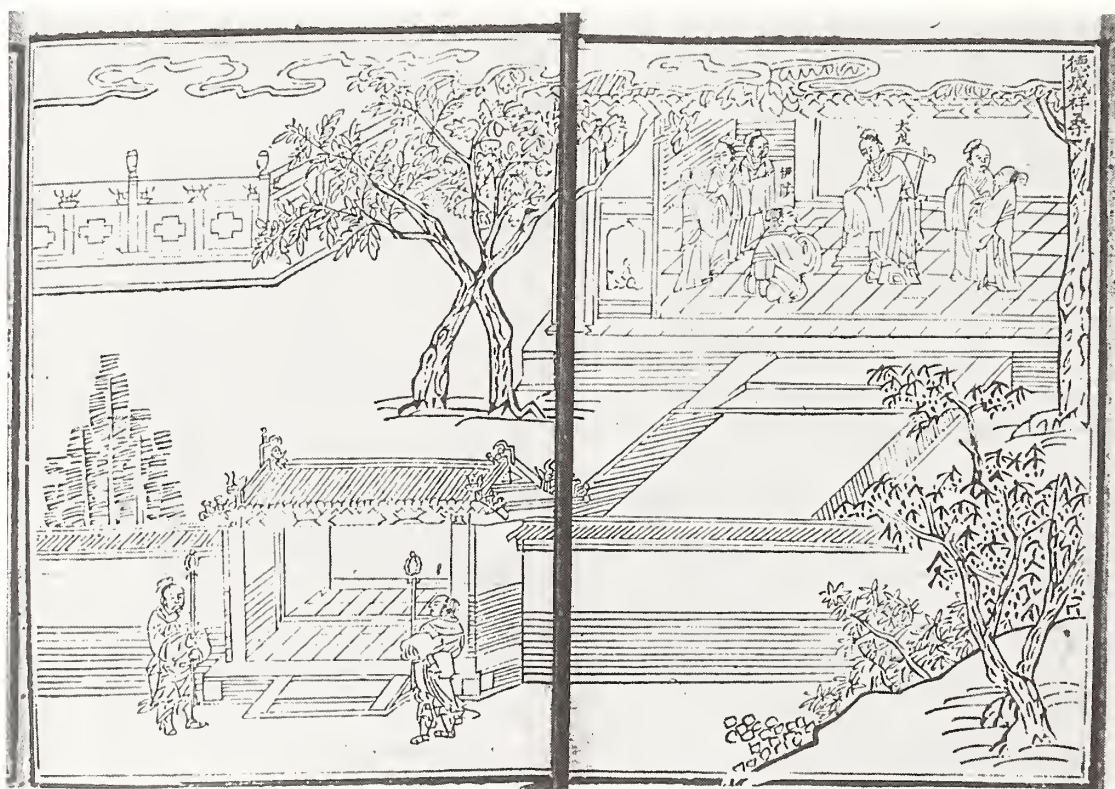


FIG. 8.  
Zhang Juzheng's  
edition of *The  
Emperor's Mir-  
ror*, 1573, illus-  
tration of story  
no. 9 (pp. 31ab),  
"Virtue destroys  
the inauspicious  
mulberry (De  
mie xiang sang),"  
block frame H:  
ca. 20 cm, Na-  
tional Central  
Library, Taiwan  
(Rare Book no.  
05239; repro-  
duced from mi-  
crofilm).



explanations accompanying the pictures, as well as Zhang's unsigned commentaries to both sections of the book.<sup>73</sup> Jin occasionally modified a colloquial phrase to a more literary one or condensed an unnecessarily wordy exegesis, but he preserved the exhaustive discussions after each core story and even labeled them "explanation (*jie* 解)," as in Zhang's edition.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, his texts have printed punctuation, as do Zhang's. These features suggest that Jin subscribed to Zhang's moral vision even though it was officially out of favor.

Despite the considerable aesthetic appeal of Jin Lian's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, then, it was not made solely for enjoyment but retained the didactic and moralistic underpinnings of its prototype. Besides the evidence of the pictures and texts themselves, the two prefaces to Jin's edition also point in this direction. In different ways, these ancillary writings positioned the book as an appropriate antidote to the growing factional strife and social dislocations of the period. Recent scholarship on the late Ming book encourages a skeptical reading of such prefaces, discounting claims for a book's moralistic efficacy as mere rhetoric to camouflage artistic or hedonistic aims.<sup>75</sup> Yet the first preface, by the distinguished Li Weizhen, went well beyond the bounds of conventional discussion in expressing criticism of the reigning emperor.<sup>76</sup>

Li began his preface conventionally enough, endorsing the use of pictures for moral instruction with an often-quoted statement attributed to Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232):

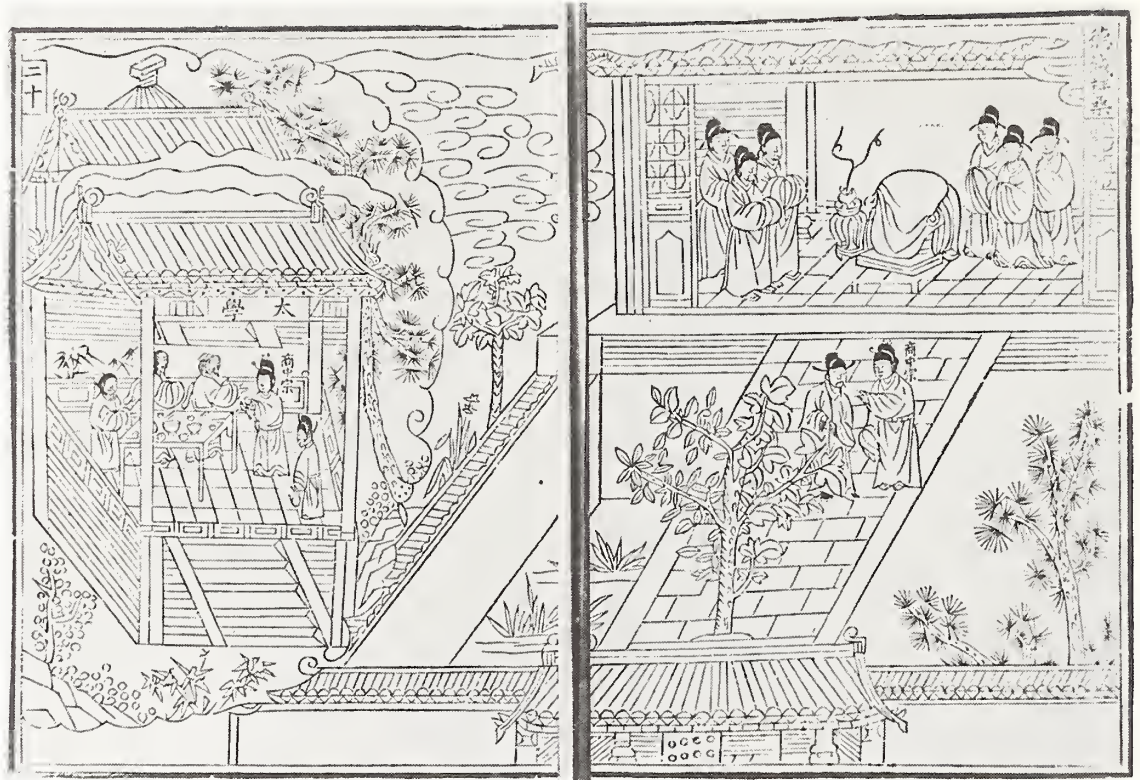
Seeing the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors, no one would not look up in reverence; seeing the three bad last rulers [of Xia, Shang, and Zhou], no one would not be moved to sadness; seeing usurping ministers who stole the throne, no one would not gnash his teeth; seeing lofty and principled scholars, no one would not forget to eat; seeing loyal ministers dying for their principles, no one would not harden his own resolve; seeing banished ministers and persecuted sons, no one would not heave a sigh; seeing a licentious husband or jealous wife, no one would not avert his eyes.<sup>77</sup>

As a further testimony to the suasive power of pictures, Li recalled that Confucius himself had been moved by viewing murals of ancient exemplars in the Zhou Hall of Light (*ming tang* 明堂), and he had understood the reason why the Zhou dynasty had endured for so many centuries from seeing the portrait of the Duke of Zhou holding the young King Cheng.<sup>78</sup> More recently, Li continued, the genre of "illustrated explanation (*tu shuo*)" had evolved, combining instructive pictures with explanatory writings. In the Tang period, Zhang Jiuling submitted the *Golden Mirror of 1000 Autumns* (*Qian qiu jin jian* 千秋金鑑) to emperor Ming Huang (Xuanzong), but the ruler had not heeded it and eventually fled to Szechwan.<sup>79</sup> Although Zhang Juzheng's *Emperor's Mirror* was infinitely more detailed, the present emperor had rejected it and seemed to be headed for a similar disaster. As Li put it, "The cautionary [example] of the preceding carriage [i.e., Ming Huang] is not far off, yet this generation does not see it." Li commended Jin Lian for rescuing *The Emperor's Mirror* from its oblivion in the Wenhua-dian 文化殿 (the lecture hall of the Beijing palace) and transmitting it more broadly, an act he characterized as a sign that Jin was admirably at odds with majority opinion at the time. He explained that the book had lost its efficacy not only because the emperor had repudiated Zhang and his teachings but also because Zhang himself had stirred widespread resentment by his high-handed actions. Without excusing Zhang's mistakes, Li Weizhen welcomed the reappearance of *The Emperor's Mirror* and emphasized its value for moral cultivation.

For his own part, Jin Lian proposed that *The Emperor's Mirror* could be beneficial to the entire spectrum of society, from the emperor down to rural villagers. His preface asked, "Why not set these [good models and cautionary examples] beside the 'embroidered seat' [the throne] to use in illuminating virtue and blocking evil, as well as display them in the rural communities for ordinary people to cultivate their elegance and cleanse their shame?" The staging of many events outside the palace in the illustrations to Jin's edition visually reinforced his claim that the principles underlying *The Emperor's Mirror* had broad social relevance.



FIG. 9.  
 Reprint of Zhang Juzheng's edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, incorporating pages from Mr. Deng of Jiangling's edition, Qing dynasty, eighteenth century?, illustration of story no. 9 (pp. 20ab), "Virtue destroys the inauspicious mulberry (De mie xiang sang)," block frame H: ca. 20 cm, National Central Library, Taiwan (Rare Book no. 05243).



Although Jin Lian's preface concludes with the words, "This carving embodies the ideas for the Sagely Son of Heaven to renew his generation," it seems unlikely that the primary audience for his edition was the Wanli emperor, who had after all been the recipient of the original album and had spurned its precepts. Rather, Jin's edition appears to have been directed toward literati who were concerned about governance, whether or not they held official positions. Many consumers of high-level book culture were highly educated and morally engaged scholars whose ambitions for government service had been thwarted or who had found the conditions of service too dangerous or degrading in the increasingly factionalized political environment. As men of culture and conscience, they could both appreciate the beauty of Jin's aesthetically sophisticated publication and endorse its reformist spirit.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, Li Weizhen had ended his own preface by commending Jin Lian for providing substantive information about the past for such people to discuss.<sup>81</sup> Unlike Zhang Juzheng's edition, Jin's version was unlikely to tax their patience with repetitious illustrations or

to insult their intelligence with obtrusive labels on the figures in the pictures. Nonetheless, in contrast to Zhang's edition and others closely affiliated with it, Jin Lian's revised version had limited circulation and was never republished, seemingly confirming Li's characterization of Jin as a man at odds with his times.

#### QING EDITIONS

Despite Zhang Juzheng's posthumous rehabilitation in 1622 and his family's recovery of confiscated property a few years later, *The Emperor's Mirror* virtually disappeared from view during the last decades of the Ming dynasty. Perhaps its prescription for achieving sagely governance by imitating ancient exemplars seemed naïve or irrelevant in the face of the challenges confronting the last Ming emperor and his officials, or perhaps Zhang himself was held responsible for engendering the intense factional conflict that engulfed the central government after his death. Yet the Manchus evidently

had use for the work because editions with texts translated into Manchu appeared both before and after the Qing conquest.<sup>82</sup> Not only did *The Emperor's Mirror* explain the principles underlying the institution of Chinese imperial rule, which the Manchus perpetuated in modified form, but the book was also a compendium of cultural and historical knowledge about the land they had conquered. In the period before and just after the conquest, a number of other works illuminating the core values of Chinese civilization were also translated into Manchu, some of them with illustrations.<sup>83</sup> Such books provided early Manchu leaders with information that would help them to govern China. By the High Qing, however, *The Emperor's Mirror* was deemed unworthy to be copied into the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor's Four Treasuries. In describing the book, the compilers of the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 wrote that its language was inescapably vulgar because it was meant to be intelligible to a child.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, the prestige of illustrated literature declined steadily over the course of the dynasty.<sup>85</sup>

Quite apart from its practical value to the Manchus, among Han Chinese *The Emperor's Mirror* evolved into an emblem or tangible evocation of Zhang Juzheng himself during the early Qing period. As the decade when Zhang had monopolized power (i.e., 1572–82) came to be recognized as the last era of peace and stability before a long period of strife and disintegration, his posthumous reputation gradually rose. His hometown of Jiangling 江陵, Hubei, began to celebrate him and emphasize his connection to the locality, perhaps to mitigate its geographical obscurity. In the early Kangxi 康熙 period, a Jiangling publisher surnamed Deng 鄧 reprinted not only *The Emperor's Mirror* but also Zhang's collected writings, including a long and laudatory biography.<sup>86</sup> Most of the pictures in Deng's recarved edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* were closely based on those in Zhang's printed edition of 1573, which probably was available from his descendants in Jiangling (compare figs. 9 and 2). Deng changed the method of paginating the pictures, making the numbers easier to see, as Hu Xian had done before him (e.g., fig.

3). Instead of small oblong cartouches outside the picture frames, as in Zhang's edition, Deng put relatively large numbers in boxes inside the upper left corner of the picture frame. In subsequent periods, Deng's edition was reprinted at least three times, probably more.<sup>87</sup>

Two compositions in Deng's reprint differed significantly from their counterparts in Zhang's edition and probably replaced pages that were missing in the prototype, requiring new designs.<sup>88</sup> Deng's new picture for "Virtue destroys the inauspicious mulberry" (fig. 9) was unusual for portraying the emperor (Shang Zhongzong 商中宗) twice in one scene, with labels both times, whereas Zhang's compositions usually managed to convey the passage of time without repeating any figures.<sup>89</sup> In Deng's illustration, at right, the emperor has left his throne and come down into the palace courtyard to confer with his minister about a tree on which two different kinds of leaves are growing; at left, on the verso page, the emperor visits with scholarly gentlemen in a building marked Taixue 太學 (imperial university), which is enveloped in a scalloped cloud to suggest that it belongs to another time and place in the story.<sup>90</sup> According to the text, the minister Yi Zhi 伊陟 told the emperor that evil (symbolized by the unnatural growth) could not withstand virtuous conduct, so Zhongzong began exerting himself to be a good ruler, causing the inauspicious plant to die. The text does not mention the Taixue, an institution founded only in the Western Han period, but its anachronistic depiction succinctly conveys Zhongzong's transformation into a sovereign in harmony with his officials. By contrast, the illustration in Zhang's edition (fig. 8) portrayed only the discussion between Yi Zhi and the emperor, who is labeled with his alternate name, Da Xu 大戊. On the recto page, the emperor is shown sitting on his throne inside the palace, and on the verso are two trees growing into one, in the space between the building and its gate.

Although the available examples of Deng's edition have no prefaces to shed light on the circumstances surrounding its publication, a later Jiangling edition does have both a preface and colophon from which a context can be reconstructed. The edition



was published in 1819 for Zhang Yijin 張亦縉, an obscure but direct descendant of Zhang Juzheng, who owned an incomplete manuscript copy of *The Emperor's Mirror* that had no pictures.<sup>91</sup> The author of the colophon, Zheng Ruohuang 鄭若璜, urged Zhang to publish the manuscript; and the district magistrate, Liu Chungu 劉春谷, wanted the blocks carved at the local academy, the Jingnan shuyuan 荆南書院.<sup>92</sup> But nothing happened until a Hanlin academician, Cheng Dekai 程德楷 (*jinsi* 1805),<sup>93</sup> arrived at the academy in the spring of 1819 and wanted to see local holdings of Zhang Juzheng's writings. When Zhang Yijin showed him the manuscript of *The Emperor's Mirror*, Cheng encouraged him to publish it and instructed Zheng Ruohuang to assume the responsibility. Zheng enlisted a large number of local scholars to help with the collating and proofreading, oversaw the carving and printing, and wrote the concluding colophon.<sup>94</sup> While the work was under way, in the summer of 1819, Cheng Dekai wrote a preface describing how Zhang Yijin had asked him to fill in seven stories for which the manuscript preserved only the titles and that he located the texts in the "Grand Secretariat (*Neige* 內閣)" edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* and copied them out.<sup>95</sup> Zheng Ruohuang, however, received Cheng's supplementary transcriptions only after the rest of the manuscript had been carved and printed, so they had to be prepared separately. Easily identified, the supplements were printed on a different kind of paper and in handwritten calligraphic style, contrasting with the printed style in the rest of the work.<sup>96</sup> The entire project took five months and was finished by mid-autumn of 1819. The edition bears the imprint Chunzhongtang 純忠堂 (Hall of extreme loyalism), the name of a building on Zhang Juzheng's estate.<sup>97</sup>

Between the lines of these accounts, Zhang Yijin appears as a man so lacking in literacy, resources, or connections that he was unable to supplement his heirloom manuscript on his own, not to mention publish it himself. The publication may have brought him greater esteem locally because it associated him with his famous ancestor. Moreover, at least one copy of the book made its way to the capital, where it was seen and extensively annotated by

the eminent Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830–1904), the *optimus* of the 1856 *jinsi* examination and one of the most influential officials of the late Qing period.<sup>98</sup> From 1865 to 1896, Weng served as imperial tutor, first to the Tongzhi 同治 emperor (1856–75; r. 1861–75) and then to the Guangxu 光緒 emperor (1871–1908; r. 1875–1908), both of whom were enthroned as young children. A conscientious Confucian erudite in an era of political reform, Weng probably wrote his notes on *The Emperor's Mirror* in connection with lessons for his imperial pupils, using the stories in a manner similar to Zhang Juzheng.<sup>99</sup>

There was one important difference, however: the Chunzhongtang edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* had no pictures, not only contradicting its title but also violating Zhang's fundamental premise: that pictures would make the lessons memorable and thereby help to inculcate the Way. Indeed, the very idea that an unillustrated manuscript could adequately represent Zhang's work in the first place suggests how much the authority of images had declined from the late Ming period.<sup>100</sup> Neither Zheng Ruohuang nor Cheng Dekai expressed regret that the illustrations were missing or thought that they should be restored, suggesting an unquestioned belief in the sufficiency of words. Despite their considerable efforts to return the text to wholeness—and Cheng even consulted an illustrated edition in order to find the missing episodes!—they were content simply to insert a page with the words "illustration lost (*tu yi* 圖佚)" before each story. Both maintained that *The Emperor's Mirror* was an aid to molding (*jiao* 教) because the stories were easy to understand. Zheng Ruohuang ended his colophon by proclaiming that the book was suitable not only for the palace but also for ordinary people, who could both enjoy it and learn how to preserve themselves and their families. Given the limited production of this edition, this expansion of its intended audience seems to have been largely rhetorical.

Only in the late Qing period did *The Emperor's Mirror* achieve wide circulation, as a miniaturized lithographic edition published in Shanghai in 1880 under the imprint of the Dianshizhai 點石齋, the

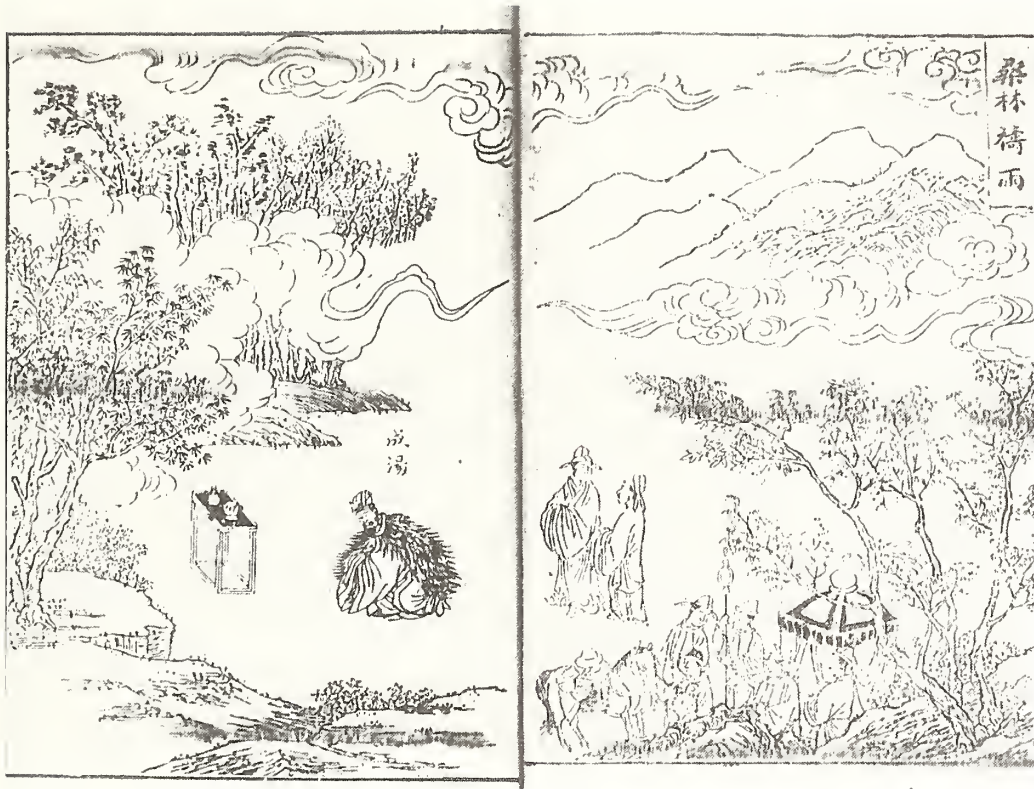


FIG. 10.

*Dianshizhai* lithographic edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, 1880, illustration of story no. 8 (pp. 15b–16a), “Praying for rain in the mulberry grove (Sang lin dao yu),” block frame H: ca. 12.5 cm, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago (2258/1371).

book-publishing unit of the British-owned commercial newspaper *Shen bao* 申報 (fig. 10).<sup>101</sup> Introduced only in 1876, lithography was quicker and cheaper than traditional woodblock printing, and it permitted the reproduction of finer linework; moreover, the Western origins of this technology made it appealingly fashionable and modern.<sup>102</sup> Even so, a major use of lithography was to produce books on traditional Chinese history and classics, perhaps expanding a market otherwise served by cheap and often crude woodblock-printed editions.<sup>103</sup> Like the inexpensive pocket-sized books of a comparable period in the West, small volumes printed in tiny characters were intended to reach a broad, popular readership. Sometimes accompanied by fine-line illustrations, they offered varying combinations of cultural knowledge and leisure-time entertainment.

He Yong's 何鏞 preface to the 1880 lithographic edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* paid rather perfunctory attention to the book's value for moral cultivation, in contrast to the prefaces in earlier editions. Instead, he focused on the physical qualities

of the book and, in particular, the fact that the [unnamed] manager of the *Dianshizhai* had invited “famous” people to transcribe the stories in a variety of elegant hands.<sup>104</sup> Although He did not name these men and they did not sign their work, the book's array of calligraphic styles enhanced its visual appeal, connoting cultivated refinement and sophistication. Some seventeenth-century commercial publishers had used the same strategy to make their products enticing.<sup>105</sup> In 1880, as in 1600, underemployed scholar-calligraphers were abundantly available for hire, while the ease of lithographic reproduction made such touches of elegance even cheaper than in the late Ming.

He Yong also provides rather startling information about the edition on which the *Dianshizhai*'s publication was based. He states that because the “original” blocks for *The Emperor's Mirror* were too effaced and the book itself too enormous to use for publishing a work for a “kerchief-sized box (*jin si* 巾笥),” the publisher had reproduced an edition purchased from Japan [“Dong Ying 東瀛”]. His report suggests that the blocks for Pan Yunduan's



replica were still extant and known in Shanghai, along with an example printed from them.<sup>106</sup> He Yong says no more about the circumstances surrounding the Dianshizhai publication, so it is unclear whether the publisher deliberately looked in Japan for another version of *The Emperor's Mirror* or simply happened to find a copy of the book there. In any case, there is no indication that he or He was aware of additional editions. Moreover, because He's comment does not specify that the publisher obtained a *Chinese* edition in Japan, he may not even have realized that Japanese versions existed. Visual examination suggests, however, that the Dianshizhai book was based on the Japanese edition of 1606, which had been published in the name of Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593–1615) and survives today in numerous examples and reprints.<sup>107</sup>

#### JAPANESE APPROPRIATIONS OF THE EMPEROR'S MIRROR

*The Emperor's Mirror* arrived in Japan soon after it was published in China in 1573. Scholars of Japanese art have suggested that Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–98) acquired a copy in Korea during his unsuccessful campaigns of the 1590s, but this speculation cannot be documented.<sup>108</sup> Whether obtained through trade, gift, or capture, the book was available to his young son and successor, Hideyori, in whose name it was replicated for wider benefit, according to a colophon by his adviser, Seiyō Jōtai 西笑承兌 (1548–1607). Idiosyncratic features indicate that the prototype for Hideyori's edition was Hu Xian's commercial publication of 1573 rather than Zhang Juzheng's own issue.<sup>109</sup> Nonetheless, the Japanese edition was produced with moveable wooden type, a technology favored by Korean printers, rather than with carved blocks, and it was not punctuated. Later Japanese editions of *The Emperor's Mirror* diverged even more from the Chinese prototype. For example, a late Edo-period "official edition (*kanban* 官版)" published in 1858 placed the illustrations on facing pages in the middle of the accompanying texts, cre-

ating a more organic flow from one episode to another.<sup>110</sup>

In Japan, *The Emperor's Mirror* signified the legitimating authority of the Chinese moral-political tradition and was one instrument among many used by military leaders to establish and consolidate their power.<sup>111</sup> Seiyō's claim that the young Hideyori was devoted to the book and wanted to disseminate it was meant to bolster the young leader's precarious position, presenting him as wise beyond his years and thus qualified to govern. Although Hideyori was deposed and killed by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 in 1615, the Tokugawa shoguns continued to use *The Emperor's Mirror* in building their political authority during the first half of the seventeenth century. Not only was the book itself reissued,<sup>112</sup> but also paintings based on its illustrations were strategically displayed in the spaces where the shoguns received their most important visitors. By conducting their affairs amid screens depicting exemplary Chinese rulers, the shoguns associated themselves with Confucian role models as well as with the cultural prestige of China more generally.

According to the *Honchō gashi* 本朝畫史, Kano Sanraku 狩野山樂 (1559–1635) was the first artist to create large-scale paintings, called *Teikan-zu* 帝鑑圖 (Emperor's Mirror pictures), based on illustrations in *The Emperor's Mirror*.<sup>113</sup> Sanraku's signature appears on an extant pair of six-panel folding screens, depicting a total of twelve stories that are divided equally between exemplars and cautionary models.<sup>114</sup> Kobayashi Hiromitsu has postulated that Japanese artists who borrowed motifs and compositions from *The Emperor's Mirror* were at first oblivious to its moral-didactic content and merely used its illustrations as visual sources for palace life in China.<sup>115</sup> From his analysis of a pair of anonymous *Teikan-zu* screens in the Ōkura Shūkokan 大倉集古館 (traditionally called *Kyūroku-zu* 宮樂圖 [Pictures of palace pleasures]), he concluded that painters of the late Momoyama–early Edo periods took themes from the cautionary illustrations, many of which showed bad rulers indulging in pleasures, to create enjoyable scenes of aristocratic merrymaking without any admonitory intent.

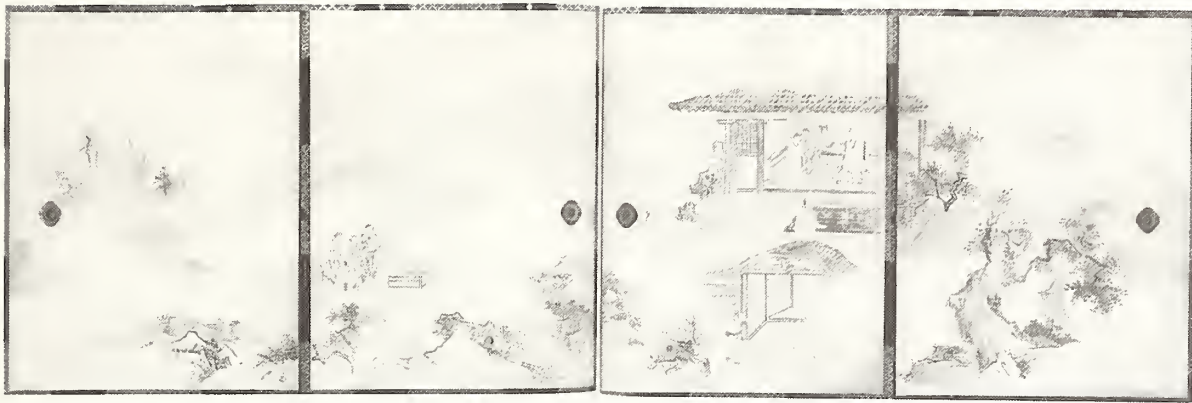


FIG. 11.  
Kano Tan'yū, painting on sliding-door panels, 1634, illustration of *The Emperor's Mirror* story no. 21, "Begrudging the expense of an observatory (Lu tai xi fei)," dims. unavailable, *Jōdan no ma*, Jōrakuden, Nagoya Castle (after Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, 1:64–65 upper).

Later, Kano Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–74) systematically incorporated *The Emperor's Mirror* iconography into a consciously coordinated decorative program for major reception rooms at Nijō and Nagoya castles (fig. 11).<sup>116</sup> Demonstrating subtle historical insight, he chose specific stories from *The Emperor's Mirror* to paint on screens and sliding doors, creating visual propaganda to reinforce the shogun's charisma and authority in his interactions with potential rivals. As Karen Gerhart has convincingly demonstrated in detail, Tan'yū not only transformed the small-scale printed models into large painted compositions that were visually effective from a distance, thus adapting them to a grand architectural setting (e.g., compare figs. 7 and 11); he also selected themes that showcased the shogun's moral and intellectual qualifications to wield power.

Tan'yū's sliding-door paintings for the two most important rooms in the Jōrakuden 上洛殿 (Shogunal Visitation Hall) at Nagoya Castle exemplify his carefully calculated borrowings from *The Emperor's Mirror*, in this instance decorating a building in which the shogun met with feudal lords (*daimyō* 大名) while traveling between Edo and Kyoto.<sup>117</sup> Planned and executed in 1633–34, the paintings depict six stories of virtuous behavior by emperors of the Han dynasty, a formative period in the establishment of China's imperial system and, by implication, the model emulated by the Tokugawa.<sup>118</sup> Extracting

the key motifs from the small printed illustrations, Tan'yū enlarged and surrounded them with empty space, organizing his compositions carefully so that the most important images would remain visible even when the sliding doors were open. Because he did not include the story titles or label the main figures, most visitors probably would discern only that the images were Chinese and would not recognize the specific subjects. Gerhart has speculated that the shogun might have explained them to his guests, impressing them with his superior knowledge of Chinese history and philosophy.

In other settings, paintings based on stories about exemplary rulers were balanced by examples from the admonitory section of *The Emperor's Mirror*.<sup>119</sup> Pairs of multiple-panel folding screens were particularly well suited to a complementary presentation of models to imitate and examples to avoid. In the previously mentioned pair of late sixteenth-century *Teikan-zu* screens attributed to Kano Sanraku, the virtuous sovereigns appear on one screen and the unworthy rulers on the other. Each story occupies one panel, creating a juxtaposition that resembles a row of hanging scrolls.<sup>120</sup> An anonymous pair of slightly later *Teikan-zu* screens in the Eisai Bunko 永青文庫 is similarly divided into exemplary and admonitory halves; however, it displays greater continuity among the separate illustrations because the artist has arranged the motifs from individual stories



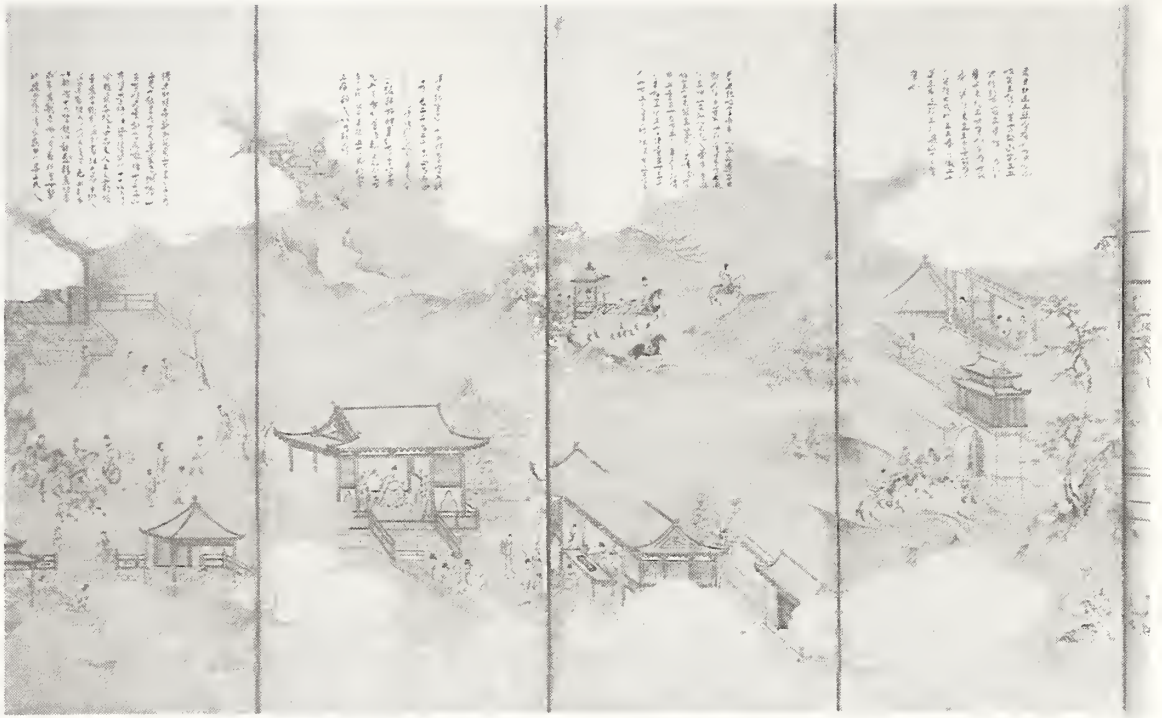


FIG. 12.

Anon., *Teikan-zu*, detail of four panels from one of a pair of six-panel folding screens, early seventeenth century, H: 155.3 cm, Eisai Bunko, Japan (after Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, 1:49).

into a visually unified composition that extends across all six panels (fig. 12).<sup>121</sup> The different episodes take place in various buildings and courtyards within the larger landscape setting, and the only clue that they belong to separate stories is that their texts are transcribed at the top of each panel. Unlike Tan'yū's sliding doors for the Jōrakuden, which portray only Han emperors, most folding screens illustrate stories about emperors from several different Chinese dynasties. Such screens serve as a digest of the entire compendium, standing for the entire span of Chinese history.

#### SOME CONTRASTS BETWEEN CHINESE AND JAPANESE USES OF *THE EMPEROR'S MIRROR*

The prominence of large-scale paintings based on printed illustrations from *The Emperor's Mirror* in

Japan stands in striking contrast to their absence in China, where the only paintings of the subject appear to be those in the album originally submitted to the Wanli emperor.<sup>122</sup> There is no evidence that Chinese painters enlarged the individual compositions into works for display in the palace or anywhere else. What accounts for this difference? Gerhart has suggested that the *Teikan-zu* paintings were part of an effort to create a quasi-imperial identity for the Tokugawa shoguns, who wanted to display superior mastery of Chinese learning in order to legitimize their hold on power.<sup>123</sup> Accordingly, painters who executed commissions for the shoguns sought new ideas in recently imported illustrated books, resulting in paintings that visually associated the military rulers with the latest developments in Chinese pictorial art. By implication, it is only because of the shoguns' quest for legitimacy that large paintings of stories from *The Emperor's Mirror*

came into being; otherwise, the pictures would have remained in the form of the book illustrations, as was apparently the case in China.<sup>124</sup> China had no institution comparable to the shogunate, and the late Ming emperors had no need to assert their authority to rule. In fact, the Wanli emperor was so secure in the legitimacy of his position, which he inherited according to the rules of orthodox succession, that he could ignore his responsibilities with impunity.

Nonetheless, the survival of impressive hanging scrolls painted in the Southern Song (1127–1279) court, such as the anonymous *Breaking the Balustrade* and *Protesting the Seat*, and Ma Lin's 馬麟 *Portraits of Sages and Worthies*, suggests that earlier Chinese emperors had commissioned paintings on themes comparable to those of *The Emperor's Mirror* to help bolster questionable claims to the throne or to reinforce shaky imperial authority.<sup>125</sup> As recently as the mid-fifteenth century, the Ming court had also been awash in paintings depicting such subjects as the recruitment of worthy scholar-recluses, whose visual rhetoric implied the patron's own moral virtue and right to govern.<sup>126</sup> Given this tradition in Chinese court painting, one would expect that the early Qing emperors might have had reason to want to display paintings based on *The Emperor's Mirror*, especially because the Manchus were outsiders. The Kangxi emperor in particular made prodigious efforts to demonstrate his legitimacy to rule the Middle Kingdom, but even he did not have such paintings made. The reason why he did not is that the whole genre of figural narrative illustration had lost favor with the Chinese cultural elite, so that paintings of *The Emperor's Mirror* would not have done much to enhance Qing authority and prestige. Instead, Qing emperors gained cultural validation by displaying very different kinds of paintings in the palace, particularly elegant landscapes after ancient masters, decorative or seasonal paintings laden with auspicious symbolism, and portraits of themselves in symbolic roles.<sup>127</sup>

The functions and significance of *The Emperor's Mirror* itself also differed in China and Japan. The work was initially created as an illus-

trated textbook, to teach a young Chinese emperor how to rule. Besides the Wanli emperor, its original recipient, the Tongzhi and Guangxu emperors may also have studied the text under the tutelage of Weng Tonghe.<sup>128</sup> In Japan, *The Emperor's Mirror* seems not to have played a role in imperial education before the Meiji Restoration of 1868 because actual governing power was in the hands of the Tokugawa shoguns, and it was they who professed allegiance to Confucian principles. The relatively powerless Japanese emperor had no particular need to cultivate virtue because he was only a figurehead; moreover, his position was authorized by his supposedly divine ancestry. Yet the shogunate was abolished in 1869, and the sixteen-year-old Meiji emperor assumed direct control of the government. This transformation of the imperial institution made the emperor truly sovereign, entailing a different kind of preparation for his role, to which *The Emperor's Mirror* became relevant. Indeed, it seems likely that the book gained a place in the emperor's curriculum. The Imperial Household Agency now owns fifteen different examples of the book, including both Chinese and Japanese editions, and some of them bear extensive handwritten notes made by imperial tutors.<sup>129</sup>

Until the Meiji period, then, patronage of *The Emperor's Mirror* was closely linked with the political legitimization of the military leadership and essentially served only that purpose. Japanese commercial printers did not exploit the book, perhaps because the stories stood for orthodox Chinese morality and did not appeal to consumers of *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵. Despite the flowering of Japanese woodblock printing in the Edo period, *The Emperor's Mirror* was not significantly reworked, and there is nothing comparable to the elegance and sophistication of Jin Lian's redesigned illustrations. In China, the book was neither associated with claims to authority nor limited in function or context; it gained a new purpose and significance with virtually each new edition. As I have described in detail above, *The Emperor's Mirror* originated as a hand-painted and handwritten textbook for a young emperor, but successive publishers turned it into an inspirational tract for officials, a compendium of



cultural knowledge and entertainment for the reading public, a souvenir for a retired courtier, an agent of Han civilization for non-Han minorities (simultaneously flattering a powerful minister), a symbol of righteous protest for disgruntled moralists, a link to national-level culture for a backwater county, a talisman of prestigious ancestry for an obscure individual, and a relic of traditional Chinese culture for modern readers. By closely examining successive versions of *The Emperor's Mirror*, I have tried both to show how physical form is integrally related to the purposes the work was intended to serve and to speculate on its significance in specific contexts of production and use. The political and cultural environments of China and Japan provided different conditions for the evolution of *The Emperor's Mirror*, and its divergent trajectories in the two countries suggest many questions for further research. □

## Notes

The kind assistance of innumerable staff members at libraries in China, Taiwan, Japan, and the United States enabled me to examine many extant versions of *The Emperor's Mirror* while writing this article. In addition, I am grateful to Professor Ōki Yasushi of Tokyo University for organizing my visits to several important Tokyo collections; to Professor Chen Pao-chen of National Taiwan University for arranging my access to rare books at the National Central Library; to Martin Heidjra at Princeton's Gest Library and Thomas Hahn at Wisconsin's Memorial Library for obtaining photocopies of rare materials; and to Freda Murck for logistical support and gracious hospitality in Beijing.

1. Those to which I make particular reference include Karen M. Gerhart, "Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars: The *Teikan Zusetsu* Murals of Nagoya Castle," *Monumenta Nipponica* 52.1 (Spring 1997): 1-34; *eadem*, "Honchō gashi and Painting Programs: Case Studies of Nijō Castle's Ninomaru Palace and Nagoya Castle's Honmaru Palace," *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 67-97; Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei (A reincarnation of the *Di jian tu shuo* in the Kyūroku-zu screens)," *Kokka* 1131 (1990): 11-31; Kōno Motoaki, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kan'eidō zōei goten (Tan'yū and the Kan'ei Palace of Nagoya Castle)," pt. 2, *Biju-*

*tsushi ronsō* 4 (1988): 131-53; and *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu: E tehon ten* (Painting and painting manuals of early modern Japan: Exhibition of hand-painted books), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990). As I was making final revisions to the present article, I learned of Gerhart's book, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), which includes a chapter on paintings of stories from *The Emperor's Mirror*, consolidating some of the information in her two articles cited above.

2. Several titles have been studied in detail; see for example Anne Farrer, "The *Shui-hu chuan*: A Study in the Development of Late Ming Woodblock Illustration" (Ph. D. diss., University of London, 1984); Scarlett Jang, "Form, Content, and Audience: A Common Theme in Painting and Woodblock-Printed Books of the Ming Dynasty," *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 1-26; Anne McLaren, "Ming Audiences and Vernacular Hermeneutics: The Uses of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*," *Toung Pao* 81 (1995): 51-80; Julia K. Murray, "Illustrations of the Life of Confucius: Their Evolution, Functions, and Significance in Late Ming China," *Artibus Asiae* 57.1-2 (1997): 73-134; and Yao Dajun, "The Pleasure of Reading Drama: Illustrations to the Hongzhi Edition of *The Story of the Western Wing*," in Wang Shifu, *The Moon and the Zither: The Story of the Western Wing*, ed. and trans. Stephen H. West and Wilt L. Idema (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), appendix 3, pp. 437-68.

3. See the catalogues *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 2:cat. nos. 21, 22, and 22A; and *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten*, comp. Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1988), cat. nos. V-70 and V-96.

4. Several of these screens are reproduced in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 1:cat. nos. 23, 24, 26, and 27; and reference figs. 4 and 5. Brief accounts of the book are given in the studies cited in n. 1 by Gerhart, Kobayashi, and Konō, and in Sakakibara Satoru, "Teikan-zu shōkai (A minor note on the *Emperor's Mirror* pictures)," *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 2:124-27; however, some of the information is incorrect, as noted below.

5. I.e., *Di jian tu shuo* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993).

6. *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996). The publication does not identify any artists involved in redesigning the pictures.

7. For the Wanli emperor's biography, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography* [hereafter DMB], ed. L. C. Goodrich and Chao-ying Fang (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), 324-37; also *Ming shi*, comp. Zhang Tingyu et al. (1735; modern ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 20-21.

8. Zhang Juzheng (zi Shuda 叔大, hao Taiyue 太岳) was a native of Jiangling, Hubei. For his life and career, see DMB, 53–61; *Ming shi*, *juan* 213, pp. 5643–52; Yang Duo, *Zhang Jiangling nianpu* (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938); and Chen Yilin, *Zhang Juzheng pingzhuan* (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1956); additional sources are listed in *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, comp. National Central Library (Taipei: National Central Library, 1965), 525–26. A lengthy biography, written by his son Zhang Jingxiu 張敬修 (*jinshi* 1580), is appended as *juan* 47 in some editions of Zhang Juzheng's collected works, *Zhang Taiyue ji* 張太岳集; it is supplemented with other early accounts and testimonials in the punctuated and annotated modern edition entitled *Zhang Juzheng ji*, chief comp. and ed. Zhang Shunhui (Wuhan, Hubei: Jing Chu shu she, 1987), *juan* 47. For a useful overview of Zhang's views on Confucian philosophy and statecraft, see Robert Crawford, "Chang Chü-cheng's Confucian Legalism," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. William T. De Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 367–413. A general background on Zhang's period of activity appears in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7: *The Ming Dynasty*, pt. 1, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

9. The Duke of Zhou, brother of the Zhou kings Wen 文王 and Wu 武王, served as tutor and regent to the young King Cheng, his nephew. He was revered as a sage and exemplary statesman in later times, and his teachings became core texts for a ruler's instruction. The "No Pleasurable Ease" chapter (*Wu yi pian*) of the *Book of Documents* (*Shang shu*) and the poem "Seventh Month (*Qi yue* 七月)" in the "Odes of Bin (*Bin feng*)" chapter of the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shi jing*) were considered to document them most comprehensively.

10. A native of Guilin, Guangxi, Lü Tiaoyang (zi Heqing 和卿, hao Yusuo 豫所) had a reputation for learning, honesty, and timidity—qualities that made him appealing to Zhang Juzheng, who was responsible for his appointment as grand secretary; see DMB, 103–4 and 1013–14. For Lü's biography, see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 262.

11. Ma Ziqiang (zi Tiqian 體乾, hao Qian'an 乾菴), a native of Tongzhou, was assigned to the Household of the Heir Apparent; for his biography see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 411; and *Ming shi*, *juan* 219, pp. 5771–72.

12. A useful discussion is given by Kenneth J. DeWoskin, "Famous Chinese Childhoods," in *Chinese Views of Childhood*, ed. Anne Behnke Kinney (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 57–78.

13. *Qi jian jing zhi* 葦檻旌直, story no. 28; from *Han shu* 漢書, comp. Ban Gu et al. (punctuated and annotated ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), *juan* 67, p. 2915. The story is about the upright official Zhu Yun 朱雲, who bravely denounced the corruption of the central government, which was then domi-

nated by the empress-dowager's relatives and little attended by the emperor himself. Chengdi's immediate reaction was to order Zhu to be executed, but he relented when general Xin Qingji 辛慶忌 begged that Zhu be spared, and the broken balustrade was left as a reminder. Although on one level the story offers a model of the brave minister who fulfilled his responsibility to admonish his lord even at the risk of his life, it is equally important that the emperor recognized his obligation to accept correction. The combination of drama, pathos, and happy resolution must have made this episode particularly gratifying. Prior to the compilation of *The Emperor's Mirror*, the story had been depicted in a hanging scroll painted at the Southern Song court, where its display symbolized the emperor's claim to be a Confucian ruler who welcomed principled admonition from his officials. Now in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, the scroll is reproduced in Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1996), pl. 82.

14. I.e., "Burning brocade and melting down gold (*Fen jin xiao jin* 焚錦銷金)" (story no. 52), based on Sima Guang 司馬光, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (modern punctuated and annotated ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), *juan* 211, Tang chronicle 27, Kaiyuan 2 (714), p. 6702.

15. I.e., "Summoning and examining district magistrates (*Zhao shi xian ling* 召試縣令)" (story no. 55), based on *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 211, Tang chronicle 27, Kaiyuan 4 (716), p. 6717.

16. I.e., "Hugely favoring the barbarian general [An Lushan] (*Pang xing fan jiang* 龐幸番將)" (story no. 111), based on *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 215, Tang chronicle 31, Tianbao 6 (747), p. 6876.

17. I.e., "Collecting wealth [immorally] and spending lavishly (*Lian cai chi fei* 斂財侈費)" (story no. 112), based on *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 215, Tang chronicle 31, Tianbao 2 (743), p. 6857.

18. I.e., the 18th day of the 12th month of the 6th year of the Longqing era. The text is reproduced at the front of many early printed editions of *The Emperor's Mirror*, under the title *Jin tu shu* 進圖疏 (Memorial on submitting the pictures), and it also appears in Zhang Juzheng's collected writings, compiled by his sons. For a photographic replica of the text in the 1612 edition of the latter, see *Zhang Taiyue ji* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1984), *juan* 7, pp. 3b–6a. A modern, punctuated and annotated transcription appears in *Zhang Juzheng ji*, *juan* 3, pp. 103–7. Finally, the memorial was included in the 1784 Jiangling gazetteer with one significant detail altered: it refers to three rather than two *ce*; see *Jiangling xian zhi* 江陵縣志, comp. Cui Longjian 崔龍見 and Huang Yizun 黃義尊 (1784), rpt. in *Xinxin fangzhi congan: Hubei fangzhi* 12 (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng shuju, 1970), *juan* 43, pp. 5a–7a (modern pp. 1833–37).



19. This passage was a quotation from the *Tai jia (xia)* 太甲 (下) section of the old-text edition of the *Shang shu*, which Qing epigraphers later excised as a forgery; see *Zhang Juzheng ji*, 105, n. 3.

20. This often-quoted epigram paraphrases Taizong's lament for his late minister Wei Zheng (580–643); see *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書, comp. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁 (punctuated and annotated ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 97, p. 3880.

21. The late Western Han minister Ban Bo was renowned for lecturing Emperor Chengdi on proper conduct by means of a painted screen that depicted the last Shang ruler and his notorious consort drinking excessively; see *Han shu*, *juan* 100 *shang*, pp. 4200–4201. Zhang Jiuling (fl. first part of eighth century, *zi* Zishou 子壽, of Qujiang, Guangdong) was a vice-director of Secretariat-Chancellery (*Zhongshu shilang* 中書侍郎) at Tang Xuanzong's court. As a birthday present to the emperor, Zhang submitted a book called *A Golden Mirror of 1000 Autumns* (*Qian qiu jin jian* 千秋金鑑), which was intended as a subtle remonstrance, in contrast to the precious baubles presented by other courtiers; see *Zhang Juzheng ji*, *juan* 3, p. 106, n. 19; or *Zhongguo renming da zidian*, ed. Zang Lihe, rpt. of 1921 ed. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1974), 921.

22. Nonetheless, *The Emperor's Mirror* was not the first illustrated compilation of positive and negative role models. In 1041, Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (r. 1022–63) ordered illustrations to be made of the beautiful and ugly “traces” (*ji* 蹟; i.e., deeds or lives) of emperors and kings of former ages, to serve as models and warnings. He personally composed a description for each, then wrote an account of the entire project. The resulting work, called *Guan wen jian gu tu* 觀文鑒古圖 (Illustrations for contemplating texts and mirroring the past) comprised twelve handscrolls with 120 illustrated stories, ranging chronologically from the Yellow Emperor to Empress Changsun 長孫皇后 (wife of Tang Taizong). Renzong showed the work to his high ministers on several occasions in the 1040s; and in 1090, Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–98, *jinshi* 1063) urged Zhezong (r. 1085–1100) to view it so that he would know how difficult the ruler's enterprise was; see Wang Yinglin, *Yu hai*, rpt. of 1883 Zhejiang shuju ed. (Shanghai: Jiangsu guji chubanshe and Shanghai shudian, 1987), 2: *juan* 56, pp. 22b–23a (modern p. 1068).

23. Zhang's comment suggests that he was aware that connoisseurs of painting were increasingly scornful of objective and explanatory depictions like those that accompanied the didactic tales. Typical of such disdain is Wen Jia's 文嘉 evaluation of the renowned handscroll *Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河圖, an amazing *tour-de-force* of late Northern Song figural and architectural painting, which he dismisses as “lacking the spirit of lofty antiquity (*wu gaogu qi* 無高古氣)”; by contrast, when the eunuch Feng Bao (fl. 1530–82) saw the painting in the palace collection in 1578, he delighted in its myriad lively details and

impressive technical skill; for both texts, see *Zhongguo lidai huihua* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 2: appendix, 12. For further discussion of views on representational painting, see Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Press, 1997), esp. chap. 2.

24. Writing some thirty years later, Li Weizhen (1547–1616, *jinshi* 1568) describes the shock and chagrin of officials who were present when Zhang submitted *The Emperor's Mirror* without giving credit to those who helped to prepare it. A Hanlin official himself at the time, Li refers to the unacknowledged participants as “Hanlin officials of Tao Dalin's 陶大臨 [1527–74, *jinshi* 1556] generation.” Li's account appears in his preface to Jin Lian's 1604 edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* (discussed below) and is also included in his collected writings; see *Dabishanfang ji* 大泌山房集 (Jinling, ca. 1611), *juan* 8, pp. 5b–7a.

25. For information about the Grand Secretariat and palace agencies, see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 72–73.

26. The young emperor's reaction is described independently in prefaces by Lu Shusheng and Wang Zongmu (see below).

27. See *Wanli qiju zhu* (Beijing: Beijing Daxue chubanshe, 1988), 1:59–61 and 109–12. The latest date on which *The Emperor's Mirror* is mentioned is the 8th day of the 10th month of Wanli 1; i.e., 2 November 1573.

28. Li Weizhen, preface to the 1604 Jin Lian ed. of *The Emperor's Mirror*, rpt. in *Dabishanfang ji*, *juan* 8, p. 6a. A native of Jingshan, Hubei, Li initially served at the capital in the Hanlin Academy and assisted Zhang Juzheng in compiling the Veritable Records of the Longqing emperor (*Muzong shilu* 穆宗實錄), after which he was by turns promoted and demoted in a succession of provincial posts for almost thirty years. Retired from office at the time he wrote his preface to the 1604 edition of *The Emperor's Mirror*, Li was later recalled to service under the Tianqi emperor (r. 1621–27). He was a prominent cultural figure, much admired for his prose, and associated with such men as Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–90), Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1567–1624), and Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602). His official biography is in the “eminent literati (*wenyuan* 文苑)” section of the *Ming shi*, *juan* 288, p. 7385; see also *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 220; and DMB, 458, 548, 1407, and 1444.

29. *Jing xian huai yao* 敬賢懷鶴, story no. 42, based on *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 193, Tang chronicle 9, Zhenguan 2 (628), p. 6059. Zhang Juzheng greatly admired Wei Zheng and considered him a role model.

30. *Wang ling hui guan* 望陵毀觀, story no. 46, based on *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 194, Tang chronicle 10, Zhenguan 10 (636), p. 6123; also in Wei's biography in *Xin Tang shu*, *juan*

97, p. 3871. It was unfilial of Taizong to long more for his empress than for his father (whose throne he had usurped).

31. Li Weizhen, preface to the 1604 Jin Lian ed. of *The Emperor's Mirror*; rpt. in *Dabishanfang ji*, *juan* 8, p. 6a.

32. Acc. no. 500-64. Japanese scholars call it the "A" version; see Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kan'eidō zōei goten," 142-43; and Kobayashi, "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei," 19-20. Two of what were originally three *ce* survive; the first contains exemplary stories nos. 1-39, while the second has all thirty-six cautionary stories and Zhang's general statement on them. The now-missing middle volume comprised exemplary stories nos. 40-81 and Zhang's statement on this section. All of the extant pictures are reproduced in microscopic size in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 2:cat. no. 21.

33. For further details on this edition, see discussion below and n. 43.

34. Jia Naiqian refers to it as a "Depot edition (*jingchang ben* 經廠本)"; see *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu*, intro., 8. For Feng Bao's biography, see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 621, and DMB, 55. Many sources attest to Zhang Juzheng's willingness to work with him.

35. See Liu Ruoyu, *Zhuo zhong zhi [lue]* 酌中志略 (ca. 1641), included in *Haishan xianguan congshu* 海山仙館叢書, ed. Pan Shicheng 潘仕成 (nineteenth century), rpt. in *Baibu congshu jicheng*, vol. 12 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), *juan* 5, pp. 1a-b. For his biography and a discussion of his memoir, see DMB, 950-52.

36. Lu Shusheng (zi Xingji 興吉, hao Pingquan 平泉), a native of Huating, was a prominent cultural figure; see *Ming shi*, *juan* 216 (*lie zhuan* 104), pp. 5694-96; and *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 571. A punctuated transcription of Lu's preface, dated the first day of the middle month of spring 1573 (4 March 1573) and which he signed as *Libu shangshu jian Hanlinyuan xueshi* 禮部尚書兼翰林院學士, is included in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu*, *shi bu* (Taipei: National Central Library, 1993), 398-99. The text also appears in his collected writings, *Lu Wendinggong ji* 陸文定公集 (Huating: Mr. Lu, 1616), *juan* 9, pp. 1a-3a.

Wang Xilie was a native of Yuzhang (modern Nanchang, Jiangxi) and the son of Wang Tingwang 王廷望 (1492-1574); see *Ben chao fensheng renwu kao* 本朝分省人物考 (a.k.a. *Ming chao fensheng renwu kao* 明朝分省人物考), comp. Guo Tingxun 過庭訓 (1622; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1971), *juan* 58, pp. 27a-b (16:5355-56); and *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 34. A punctuated transcription of Wang's postface to *The Emperor's Mirror*, dated the first day of the first month of summer 1573 (1 May 1573), and which he signed as *Libu zuoshilang jian Hanlinyuan shidu xueshi zhang zhanshifu shi* 吏部左侍郎兼翰林院侍讀學士掌詹事府事, appears in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu*, 399-400.

37. Attributed to the sagely Duke of Zhou, this section was regarded as an outline of his lessons on rulership for the young King Cheng, to whom he was uncle and regent. Early in the reign of Tang Xuanzong, Song Jing 宋璟 (663-737) submitted an illustrated transcription of the *Wu yi pian* on a screen. The emperor displayed it in the inner palace as an admonition, but he later replaced it with a landscape screen; see Wang Yinglin, *Yu hai*, *juan* 56, pp. 9b-10a (modern pp. 1061-62). Wang Yinglin also discussed Song emperors' involvement with the subject, which they sometimes paired with excerpts from the *Xiao jing* 孝經 or with a passage of the *Shang shu* on revering heaven (*jing tian* 敬天); *Yu hai*, *juan* 56, pp. 24b-31b (modern pp. 1069-72). *The Emperor's Mirror* includes a story about Song Renzong (r. 1022-63) having a screen portraying the *Wu yi pian* (i.e., "Receiving the *Wu yi* picture [*Shou Wu yi tu* 受無逸圖])" (story no. 74); however, the illustration shows a screen with the text transcribed on it, not a pictorial composition.

38. Wang's postface to *The Emperor's Mirror*; reproduced in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu*, 399-400.

39. *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben xuba jilu*, 399-400.

40. I have seen an example of this book in the Gest Library of Princeton University (Rare Book no. TC-328-711b). The emperor explains his intention in his preface.

41. For recent discussions of late Ming visual culture and woodblock-printed illustrated books, see Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); and Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*.

42. This suggestion was made by the anonymous reader for *Arx Orientalis*, who notes, "It was not uncommon for officials to promote the sale among their colleagues . . . of their own publications or publications sponsored by them for monetary gain." My sense is that even if Zhang profited financially from publishing the book, his primary motive was to pressure officialdom to conform to his vision of Confucian ideals.

43. I have personally examined those in the National Central Library (Rare Book no. 05239), the Beijing Library (Rare Book no. 17486), and Princeton University's Gest Library (Rare Book TB-367). Another that I have studied only in microfilm is a six-*ce* book formerly catalogued in the "Beiping" Library and now in the National Palace Museum Library, Taipei (Rare Book no. 05238). Others purport to exist in mainland collections; see *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1985), 2: *juan* 8, p. 407. An example I have seen in the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library (Toku 特 6834), in six *ce*, appears to be a later impression from the same blocks on poorer quality paper. It is discussed by Kobayashi as the first of his two "B" versions; see "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei," p. 26, fig. 15, and p.



30, n. 21. Other pages are reproduced in *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten*, p. 134, cat. no. V-70; and *Chūgoku Min Shin no ehon* (Osaka: Osaka City Art Museum, 1987), cat. no. 108.

The block-frame dimensions of Zhang's edition are approximately 20 × 28.6 cm (folio 14.3 cm), with slight variance from one page to another (as is typical of woodblock printing; see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*, 76). The texts accompanying the illustrations have nine columns of nineteen characters each. Most examples are bound into twelve stitched *ce* (eight for the good models and four for the bad).

44. Moreover, in 1610, Gao Yijian 高以儉 noted in a colophon to the first edition of Zhang's collected works that Zhang's "rough-draft counterpart to the submitted [album] has long circulated in the world (*zou dui gao jiu xing yu shi* 奏對稿久行於世)," in contrast to his other writings; quoted in Zhang Shunhui, *Zhang Juzheng ji*, 4:juan 47, p. 507.

45. See n. 32. I am most grateful to Professor Ōki Yasushi of Tokyo University for making arrangements for me to examine the work.

46. The frames around the pictures and texts each measure approximately 40 × 38 cm, but a pair was actually carved on one enormous block at least 40 × 77 cm, with a center margin that gives the book title and page number. By comparison, the block frames of Zhang's editions are approximately 20 × 28.6 cm.

47. For discussions of workshop practices in Chinese painting in other periods, see Sarah Fraser, "The Artist's Practice in Tang Dynasty China (8th–10th Centuries)" (Ph. D. diss., University of California–Berkeley, 1996); Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chap. 6; Maxwell K. Hearn, "Document and Portrait: The Southern Tour Paintings of Kangxi and Qianlong," in *Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown, *Phoebus* 6.1 (1988): 91–131; and Yang Boda, *Qingdai yuan hua* (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1993).

48. At the time of writing, Wang Zongmu (zi Xinfu 新甫, hao Jingsuo 敬所) was director-general of grain transport at Huaian. A native of Linhai (Taizhou), Zhejiang, he had an illustrious official career and was a follower of Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529); see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 36–37; and DMB, 1438–41. Kōno refers to him incorrectly as Wang Zong; see "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kan'eidō zōei goten," 142. The text of Wang's postface is reproduced in his collected writings, but several characters have been altered by careless carving; see *Jingsuo Wang xiansheng wenji* 敬所王先生文集 (1574), juan 5, pp. 42b–45a.

49. Pan Yunduan (zi Zhonglü 仲履, hao Chongan 充菴), a native of Shanghai and middle-level official, was respected for his efforts to solve problems of transporting grain to the North by water; see his biography in *Songjiang fu zhi* 松江府志, comp.

Fang Yuegong 方岳貢 (1630), rpt. in the series *Riben cang Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), juan 40, pp. 27a–28b (modern p. 1043); also *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 775; and *Ming shi*, 18:juan 202, p. 5342.

50. For the biography of Pan En (zi Ziren 子仁, hao Zhan-chuan 湛川), see *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 778; and *Ming shi*, 18:juan 202, p. 5342. Kōno erroneously refers to him as Pan Enjin; "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kan'eidō zōei goten," 42.

51. Pan En's friendship with Lu Shusheng is attested by texts in Lu's collected writings, such as congratulations on Pan's seventieth birthday (*Lu Wendinggong ji*, juan 10, pp. 1a–4b) and an epitaph for Pan's wife, Mme. Cao 曹氏 (*Lu Wendinggong ji*, juan 6, pp. 5a–9a).

52. As noted previously, the latest date on which the album is mentioned in the court annals is 2 November 1573; see n. 27. Pan En signed his preface to the replica as Retired Chief Censor of the Left (*Duchayuan zuodu yushi jinjie zhishi* 都察院左都御史進階致仕).

53. I am indebted to Martin Heijdra of Gest Library for his help in obtaining a photocopy of Pan En's text from the Japanese Imperial Household Agency. The text is not included in Pan's collected works, *Pan Lijiang xiansheng ji* 潘笠江先生集 (a.k.a. *Pan Gongding xiansheng quanji* 潘恭定先生全集), which his two sons published in the mid-1550s. The piece is now placed after story 39 (the last of the surviving stories of good models in the now-fragmentary replica), but this is surely a later and possibly Japanese rearrangement. When Professor Ōki Yasushi examined the huge replica with me in December 1998, he observed that it is now in a Japanese mounting, not its original Chinese wrapper. Accordingly, Pan En's text may have been moved from its proper place.

54. One of Pan En's early biographers describes how wholeheartedly he surrounded himself with books after retirement, collecting so many that he could not record their titles; see *Ben chao fensheng renwu kao*, juan 26, p. 29b (7:2144).

55. In Zhang's edition, Lu Shusheng's preface was followed by Zhang's memorial and the table of contents containing titles of exemplary stories, which also identified the emperor involved. There was a separate table of contents for the admonitory stories. By contrast, because painted albums normally do not have tables of contents, it is not surprising that none appears in Pan's replica of the submitted version of *The Emperor's Mirror*. His omission of the memorial made it less obvious that the album had been removed from the palace.

56. Hu's imprint on the last folio reads "An auspicious winter morning in the first year of the Wanli reign, Hu Xian of the Jinling [Nanjing] book quarter carved the blocks (*Wanli yuan nian dong yue ji dan*, *Jinling shufang Hu Xian xiu zi* 萬歷元

年冬月吉旦，金陵書房胡賢繡梓)。” Rather than meaning that Hu carved the blocks himself, the wording suggests that he was a publisher who hired artisans to do the work. I have seen the two examples of Hu’s edition in the National Central Library, Taiwan (Rare Book nos. 05240–05241; both in six *ce*), which are catalogued in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu*, 404. They include all the same components as Zhang’s edition, but the Wang Xilie postface is (correctly) placed at the very end of the book rather than at the head of the “bad” models.

Another example in the Nanjing Library is listed in Du Xinfu, *Mingdai banke zonglu* (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyin she, 1983), *juan* 3, p. 32b. Du identifies Hu Xian as a native of Dongyang xian, with the style name Dongtang, and lists only *The Emperor’s Mirror* for his publications. Lucille Chia questions Du’s equation of Hu Xian with Hu Dongtang (a name she has found associated with two other books); see “Of Three Mountains Street: The Commercial Publishers of Ming Nanjing,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming), table 1.

57. Hu renumbered the pages of the first section “*qian yi*, *qian er* 前一、前二 (former 1, former 2)” and so forth, making them true counterparts to the page numbers used in Zhang’s edition in the second section, which starts over as “*hou yi*, *hou er* 後一、後二 (latter 1, latter 2),” etc.

58. The book is printed on poor and fragile tan paper, and many folds have split apart. Among the textual errors is a mistake in the title of story no. 27, “Summoning scholars to lecture on the classics (*Zhao ru jiang jing* 詔儒講經),” which is rendered as *Zhu ru jiang jing* 諸儒講經 (The various scholars lecture on the classics).

59. One example, which I have not seen, is in the Anhui Provincial Museum, from which one page is reproduced in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 20:pl. 42 (depicting “Sending an envoy to relieve the famine [*Qian shi zhen xu* 遣使賑恤]”; story no. 60). The dimensions of its block frames match those of Zhang’s edition (e.g., National Central Library Rare Book no. 05239). Another recut version, which I examined, is a twelve-*ce* work in the Japanese Imperial Household Agency (acc. no. 14991-216-8), from which one page is reproduced in Kōno, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” p. 152, fig. 9 (depicting “Begrudging the expense of an observatory [*Lu tai xi fei* 露臺惜費]”; story no. 21, discussed below). Kobayashi suggests that both books are examples of the same recut edition (his second “B” version); see “Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei,” 20 and 30, n. 21. Yet a comparison of the two renditions of the picture for “Sending an envoy to relieve the famine” shows significant differences. The Japanese Imperial Household Agency version does not have thick lines and dark areas, and its page numbers appear in the middle of the pictures instead of in the upper left corner.

60. The use of broad lines and extensive areas of black is described as a northern characteristic by Zhou Wu, Zheng Zhen-duo, and others; see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, 20:notes for cat. no. 42. Yao Dajun points out that there are too few northern editions to make such a generalization and suggests that carving out broad areas to be solidly inked is simply easier and cheaper; see “The Pleasure of Reading Drama,” 150 and 454.

61. Katherine Carlitz has shown how the visual properties shared with illustrated drama and fiction brought didactic pictures perilously close to entertainment; see “The Social Uses of Female Virtue in Late Ming Editions of *Lienü zhuan*,” *Late Imperial China* 12.2 (1991): 117–48. For a similar phenomenon in the illustrations of Confucius’s biography, see Murray, “Illustrations of the Life of Confucius,” 96–110.

62. Although his dates are not recorded, Guo Tingwu was a native of Xinxiang xian, Henan, and the trajectory of his career in the Censorate can be reconstructed from his entry in *Weihui fu zhi* 衛輝府志, comp. Hou Dajie 侯大節 (1609), *juan* 8 (*xuan ju*), for the examination year Longqing yichou 乙丑 (1565), no page nos.; see also entries for positions he held from 1578 to 1587 in *Guochao lie qing ji* 國朝列卿紀, comp. Lei Li 雷禮 (1505–81), rpt. of a late Ming ed. (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 5101, 5152, 5338, 6162, and 7183. His preface to *The Emperor’s Mirror* is signed with the title Regional Investigating Inspector for Yunnan (*Xun’an Yunnan jiancha yushi* 巡按雲南監察御史). The book is the only publication listed under his name in Du, *Mingdai banke zonglu*, *juan* 4, p. 35a. Kobayashi erroneously characterizes Guo as a commercial publisher and his edition as undated; “Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei,” 20 and 30, n. 22. I have seen one example in the National Central Library (Rare Book no. 05242), in twelve *ce*; the library catalogue incorrectly identifies Rare Book no. 05243 as another. Except for omitting Wang Xilie’s postface, Guo’s edition includes all the same parts as Zhang Juzheng’s. The pagination differs in that the first eight volumes have page numbers prefaced by the character *zhi* 智 (wise), except for Guo’s preface, which is unpaginated. The numbering begins anew for the cautionary models in the last four volumes, and the prefix character is changed to *zhong* 中 (center).

63. Guo’s preface, entitled “Preface for Recutting *The Emperor’s Mirror* (*Di jian tu shuo chong ke xu* 帝鑑圖說重刻序),” is transcribed and punctuated in *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu*, 400–401.

64. Except for the pages of Guo’s preface, virtually every page of his recut edition is signed outside the left edge of the page frame, below the page number.

65. For references, see n. 62.

66. For details, see DMB, 60; also *Jiangling xian zhi*, *juan* 26, pp. 7a–7b (modern pp. 1115–16).



67. Jia, *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu*, intro., 9–10. Perhaps the last edition to omit Zhang's memorial was one published in 1622, with prefaces signed by seven palace eunuchs, among them the notorious Wei Zhongxian (1568–1627). I have not seen this edition, and Jia does not enumerate or transcribe the prefaces, so the reasons for its publication are unclear. Examples are held by the Beijing University Library and Tianjin Library; see *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu*, 2:juan 8, p. 407.

68. Despite exhaustive searching, I have found no biography for Jin Lian, whose signature and seals indicate that he was a native of Xin'an 新安 (a place name in Anhui, Henan, Hebei, and Guangdong), had the style name Zijun 子濬, worked in the Central Drafting Office, and had the prestige title Gentleman-for-summoning (*Zhengshilang Zhongshu sheren* 徵仕郎中書舍人). He should not be confused with a more prominent but earlier official also called Jin Lian (zi Zonghan 宗翰) of Huaian Shanyang 淮安山楊, who passed the *jinshi* exam in 1418; see biography in *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 310. Du Xinfu identifies him, without indicating a source, as Jin Lian (zi Maoguang 懋光) from Taicang zhou 太倉州, who passed the *juren* examination in the Wanli period (*Mingdai banke zonglu*, juan 3, p. 12b); however, the Taicang gazetteer records only a Jin Lian 金燦 (zi Maoguang 懋光) active in the Hongzhi period as a scholar and book publisher; see *Taicang zhou zhi* 太倉州志, comp. Qian Sule 錢肅樂 (Taicang, 1642; rpt. 1678), juan 6, p. 3a and juan 13, p. 106a.

I have examined two examples of Jin Lian's edition in the Beijing Library: an incomplete one formerly owned by Zheng Zhenduo (Rare Book no. 15767); and an intact one (Rare Book no. 14125) that was exhibited in Japan in 1988 (see *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten*, p. 134, cat. no. V-96). Basic information and a few reproductions also appear in *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu*, comp. Zhou Wu (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), 1:cat. no. 130; Zhou Wu, *Huipai banhua shi lunji* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1983), pls. 62–65; Kobayashi, "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei," 20 and 30, n. 23; and Jia, *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu*, intro., 9. Additional examples of Jin Lian's edition are in the Shanghai Library and Shanghai Museum; see *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu*, 2:juan 8, p. 407. The edition has nine columns per page and twenty-one characters per column and is divided into six *juan*, corresponding to six *ce*. I have not found Jin's preface published elsewhere.

69. Li Weizhen's preface (see n. 24) describes how his (unnamed) little brother (*shao di* 少弟) and Jin Lian had obtained the illustrated work (probably an example of Zhang Juzheng's edition) from the Wenhudadian, the very building in which Zhang Juzheng had formerly lectured to the young Wanli emperor, and laments that the instructive compendium had been ignored and forgotten. Jin Lian's preface implies that he had a chance to peruse the palace book collection after 1601, when he was appointed to a post in the Secretariat.

70. Both names are followed by the word "carved (*juan* 鐫)";

no painter's name appears on the book. According to a Huang clan genealogy, Huang Jun (alternate names Junpei 君佩 and Xiuye 秀野) belonged to the twenty-fifth generation and Huang Yingxiao (Zhongchun 仲純) to the sixteenth; see Zhou, *Huipai banhua shi lunji*, 39 and 42. Zhou Wu also identifies other publications whose blocks they carved. The six *ce* of their edition of *The Emperor's Mirror* are named for Confucian virtues: *zhi* 智 (wisdom), *ren* 仁 (benevolence), *sheng* 聖 (sageliness), *yi* 義 (righteousness), *zhong* 中 (centering), and *he* 和 (harmony). The names that Huang Jun gave his four sons—Yingzhong, Yingxiao, Yingjie, Yingyi—which all refer to Confucian virtues, suggest that *The Emperor's Mirror* commission was a congenial one.

71. Kobayashi, "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei," 20.

72. *Lu tai xi fei*, story no. 21; from Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記, juan 10, p. 433.

73. Kobayashi implies that Jin Lian dropped Zhang's texts altogether; see "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei," 20.

74. For example, in the text accompanying the first picture, Jin changed the colloquial *na shi* 那時 ("at that time") to the more literary *ji shi* 即時, and he condenses "There were two brothers, older and younger, surnamed Xi; and two brothers, older and younger, surnamed He (*You Xi shi xiongdi er ren. He shi xiongdi er ren.* 有義氏兄弟二人。和氏兄弟二人。)" to "There were older and younger brothers surnamed Xi and He, two each (*You Xi shi He shi xiongdi ge er ren.* 有義氏和氏兄弟各二人。)."

75. For examples of relevant discussion, see Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, esp. 69 and 309–11; and Anne E. McLaren, "Constructing New Reading Publics in Late Ming China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (forthcoming).

76. For Li's preface, see n. 24; for his biography and cultural eminence, see n. 28.

77. This passage is quoted at the beginning of Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, 843, rpt. in *Hua shi congshu* 畫史叢書, vol. 1, comp. Yu Anlan 于安瀾 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1963); translation modified from William R. B. Acker, *Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts on Chinese Painting*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954): 74–75. Zhang may have taken it from a preface Cao wrote for a collection of eulogies on paintings; see *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, ed. Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 27.

78. Late sixteenth-century recensions of Confucius's illustrated biography include both scenes. The first, "Depicted images

arouse feelings (*Tu xiang xing huai* 圖像興懷),” is episode 16 of the *Shengji quan tu* 聖蹟全圖 (undated, late sixteenth century); and “Contemplating the Zhou Hall of Light (*Guan Zhou mingtang* 觀周明堂)” is the 85th episode in *Shengji zhi tu* 聖蹟之圖 (1592). For a discussion of these compilations, see Murray, “Illustrations of the Life of Confucius,” and *eadem*, “The Temple of Confucius and Pictorial Biographies of the Sage,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55.2 (May 1996): 269–300.

79. See n. 21.

80. As Robert Crawford and L. C. Goodrich note, even while Zhang Juzheng was officially in disgrace, he was still highly respected by “people of understanding”; DMB, 60. The likely viewers of Jin Lian’s edition probably were literati of the type described by Scarlett Jang as appreciating Zang Maoxun’s 藏懋循 *Yuan qu xuan* 元曲選 (ca. 1615), a highly refined anthology of illustrated Yuan plays; see Jang, “Form, Content, and Audience,” 16–19 and 21.

81. Li refers to them as *haoshizhe* 好事者, literally, “those who like things,” a term whose connotations range from mildly positive (“afficionado”) to rather negative (“busybody”); see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 86–87. In the context of late Ming book culture, *haoshizhe* are people who had the cultivation and leisure to involve themselves in both production and connoisseurship of woodblock-printed books; in colophons on painting, the term is used to disparage people who have meddled with the work or misunderstood its significance.

82. Jia, *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu*, intro., 10. In addition, a handwritten Manchu edition in two *ce*, attributed to the Shunzhi 順治 reign (1644–61), is in the Palace Museum Library, Beijing; and a printed edition based on that is in the Beijing Library; see Huang Junhua, *Quan guo Manwen ziliao lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991), p. 11, no. 0035. The title is romanized as *Di Guyan tu xuwe bihe*, and the dimensions are given as 18.3 × 25 cm. I have not examined any of these works.

83. See Huang, *Quan guo Manwen ziliao lianhe mulu*, *passim*.

84. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, comp. Ji Yun 紀昀 et al. (1782; rpt. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1931), 17, *shibu* 史部, *shiping lei* 史評類, *cunmu* 存目 2, p. 98. Two of Zhang’s works, including *Zhang Taiyue ji*, were actually proscribed by the commission; see DMB, 61. During the Daoguang 道光 era (1821–50), Wang Boxin 王柏心 (*zi* Zishou 子壽) of Jianli 監利 submitted copies of Zhang Juzheng’s *The Emperor’s Mirror* and *Sishu zhijie* 四書直解 (*The Four Books with Straightforward Explanations*) for the emperor’s instruction and urged that the books be republished; for his memorial see *Zhang Juzheng ji*, *juan* 47, p. 519. I have found no evidence that his request bore fruit.

85. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, chap. 5 and epilogue.

86. Examples of Mr. Deng’s edition of *The Emperor’s Mirror*, purportedly dated 1662, are catalogued by the UCLA and University of Michigan libraries, but UCLA’s is incomplete (vol. 1 only, DS 734 C34 1662) and Michigan’s is now missing (formerly DS 734 C223 T56). An illustration of “Selling noble titles at the Western Residence (*Xi di yu jue* 西邸鬻爵)” (story no. 97) from an unidentified example of the Deng edition is reproduced in Zhou Wu, *Jinling gu banhua* (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1993), 306–7 (incorrectly identifying Deng as Zheng of Jiangling). A version in the Tokyo University Library in four *ce* (H30-290) and one in the Harvard-Yenching Library in six *ce* (T1685/1371) may be later reprints because both display taboos on the characters *xuan* 玄 and *hong* 弘, associated with the personal names of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. The Harvard-Yenching example is missing Zhang’s commentary to the good models. Finally, eight pictures from Deng’s edition appear in what is mostly a later impression of Zhang Juzheng’s 1573 edition, in the National Central Library (Rare Book no. 05243).

The biography of Zhang Juzheng, entitled “Zhang Wenzhonggong xing shi 張文忠公行實,” was written immediately after Zhang’s death in 1582 by his eldest son, Zhang Jingxiu (*jinsi* 1580), who was tortured and hounded to suicide himself in 1584. Zhang Jingxiu was posthumously pardoned only in 1640, so his account was not included in the initial publication of his father’s collected works (see n. 18). It was added as *juan* 47 in a late Ming reprint and retained in Deng’s edition; see Zhang Shunhui’s explanatory notes to *Zhang Juzheng ji*, 1.

87. E.g., the Tokyo University and Harvard-Yenching Library versions mentioned in n. 86; also a Daoguang-era (1821–50) reprint in the UCLA library (DS 734 C34 1821).

88. The pictures that differ significantly are those for “Virtue destroys the inauspicious mulberry (*De mie xiang sang* 德滅祥桑)” (story no. 9) and “Dreaming that a good minister was conferred (*Meng lai liang bi* 夢賚良弼)” (story no. 10).

89. There are very few exceptions. The only picture in Zhang’s edition with a labeled figure appearing twice is “Dispatching the favorite to apologize to the minister (*Qian xing xie xiang* 遣倖謝相)” (story no. 22), in which imperial favorite Deng Tong 鄧通 is shown first appealing to Han Wendi to protect him from punishment by the minister Shentu Jia 申屠嘉 and then abjectly apologizing to Shentu Jia. As discussed by Karen Gerhart, this scene became ambiguous in Japanese renditions, which do not label Deng Tong’s figure twice, as Zhang’s edition does; see “Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars,” 9–13, or *eadem*, *The Eyes of Power*, 43–46.

Occasionally, in Zhang’s edition, a figure may appear twice in a single composition but is labeled only once. For example, in “Setting up instruments and seeking opinions (*Jie qi qiu yan* 揭器求言)” (story no. 4), the figure of Yu 禹 the Great



sitting on the throne is labeled, and the unlabeled man standing on the steps by a petitioner may also be Yu. In “Dreaming that a good assistant is conferred (*Meng lai liang bi*)” (story no. 10), the image of future minister Fu Yue 傅說 actually appears three times: in Shang Gaozong’s 商高宗 dream (depicted inside a cloud), laboring outside his home, and in a bust portrait held by imperial envoys sent to locate him in the hinterland. This story was also the source for the inscription on the arch erected to honor Zhang Juzheng in his hometown, reading “A good assistant conferred on the emperor (*Di lai liang bi* 帝貴良弼)”; see *Jiangling xian zhi*, *juan* 24, p. 1a (modern p. 1075).

90. The gist of the story is presented in Sima, *Shi ji*, *juan* 3, p. 100. The evil omen is two trees whose trunks fuse together, which is more accurately rendered in Zhang’s illustration, rather than one tree putting forth two different kinds of leaves, as in Deng’s. It is apparent that the artist(s) who created new illustrations for the recent mainland publication *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu* (see n. 6) consulted an example of Deng’s edition because this scene follows Deng’s iconography.

91. I have studied an example of this edition, in six *juan*, in the Beijing Library (Rare Book no. 3988). Kōno mentions one in the Institute for Humanistic Studies (Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo) of Kyoto University; see “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” 143. I cannot find independent biographical information about Zhang Yijin (zi Yingzhong 應忠, hao Biliang 必亮).

92. Much of this and the following information comes from Zheng Ruohuang’s colophon. I have been unable to find independent information about him or about Liu Chungu, whom Zheng describes as a native of Huangcheng, Hubei. Zheng himself had the alternate name (zi) Futing 黻廷 and was probably a native of Jiangling. The Jingnan shuyuan was established in 1719 at its site outside the city walls, on Mt. Baling; see *Jiangling xian zhi*, *juan* 15, p. 15a (modern p. 685).

93. Cheng Dekai (zi Bangxian 邦憲, hao Songting 松亭), a native of nearby Macheng, Hubei, attained the official rank of 1a in a career in and out of the capital, and his funeral was conducted by the Jiaqing emperor’s fifth son, Prince Hui 惠王 (Mianyu 綿愉; 1814–65); for Cheng’s biography, see *Macheng xian zhi* 麻城縣志, comp. Yu Jinfang 余晉芳, rpt. in the series *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu*, Huazhong difang 357, Hubei sheng (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), *juan* 9, pp. 58b–60a (modern pp. 776–78).

94. A list of twenty-two collators and proofreaders, mostly men of Jiangling or neighboring counties, appears under the title “*Chongkan Di jian tu shuo jiaoding xingshi* 重刊帝鑑圖說校定姓氏.” Two of them, Zheng Ruoxiang 鄭若湘 and Zheng Ruoyao 鄭若瑤 of Jiangling, probably were Zheng Ruohuang’s brothers or cousins. Zheng’s colophon is dated the “Chrysanthemum Month” (9th lunar month) of Jiaqing 24, corresponding to the month between mid-October and mid-November of 1819.

95. The missing sections were six stories about good models and one about a bad model. The “Neige” edition refers to the edition published by Zhang Juzheng in 1573, when he was Senior Grand Secretary; according to his son, Zhang Sixiu 張嗣修 (*jinshi* 1577), who published the first edition of Zhang’s collected writings in 1612 (see n. 18), the blocks for *The Emperor’s Mirror* and three other books by Zhang remained in the Secretariat; see *Zhang Taiyue ji, fan li* 凡例, 2b (modern p. 10, upper). Zheng Ruohuang’s postface describes the available example as a work in six *ce*, and such a book was catalogued in the district library a few decades earlier; see *Jiangling xian zhi*, *juan* 42, p. 5a (modern p. 1815). The original issue was bound in twelve *ce* (see n. 43), so the available publication may have been a later impression. Zheng was evidently unaware that the book had once been widely circulated, for he goes on to declare that it had not previously been published outside the Ming palace, causing its blocks to become rare.

96. Jia (*Di jian tu shuo pingzhu*, intro., 10–11) and *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* (2: *juan* 8, p. 407) incorrectly describe the supplements as being handwritten additions by Weng Tonghe (1830–1904, *jinshi* 1856). But Weng was not even born until 1830, and in any case, Cheng Dekai clearly takes credit for them. Moreover, although the supplementary texts are in handwritten style, they are definitely printed. It is far more likely that Weng was the author of the marginal notes written on the example in the Beijing Library, as mentioned below.

97. The nameboard for the Chunzhongtang was conferred by the Wanli emperor in 1573, and the building later became a “famous place” in Jiangling; see *Jiangling xian zhi*, *juan* 25, p. 7a (modern p. 1091) and *juan* 43, pp. 7a–8b (modern pp. 1837–40). The name “Chunzhongtang” appears on the inside cover of Harvard-Yenching Library’s reprint of the Deng edition (see n. 86) in place of “Jiangling Deng shi 江陵鄧氏,” but this illustrated version was unknown to Zhang Yijin.

98. See n. 96. For Weng’s biography, see *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, ed. Arthur Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 729–33 and 860–61.

99. Weng’s diary describes the lessons he gave to the emperors; see *Weng Wengonggong riji* 翁文恭公日記 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1925), passim. Jia Naiqian quotes three representative comments from the annotations on the Chunzhongtang edition of *The Emperor’s Mirror* in the Beijing Library; see *Di jian tu shuo pingzhu*, intro., 11. Notes are handwritten on several pages of the book as well as on loose sheets inserted into it.

100. Hegel discusses a similar phenomenon in the publication of fiction, which he explains as the result of a bifurcation between elite and popular reading publics; see *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, chap. 5 and epilogue.

101. I have examined examples in the Japanese Imperial

Household Agency (270-162) and University of Chicago library (2258/1371). For background on late Qing printing in Shanghai, see Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); and Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). The *Dianshizhai* is best known for its illustrated periodical, *Hua bao* (Shanghai pictorial).

102. Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 81–82. Hegel also comments on the physical qualities of lithographic editions; see *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, 4 and 135.

103. An illuminating analysis of the inventory of two low-end commercial publishers in late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century northern Fujian is given by Cynthia J. Brokaw in “Reading the Bestsellers of the Nineteenth Century: Commercial Publishing in Sibao, Fujian,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (forthcoming).

104. Unlike the prefaces to earlier editions, which purport to display the calligraphic style of their respective authors, He’s text was transcribed by a Wang Yeye 汪業頌 of Pingjiang 平江, at the Hu River Guest House (Hu Du kedi 滬濱客邸). He Yong was a native of Shanyin, Zhejiang. I have not found other information about these men.

105. Anne Burkus-Chasson explores the implications of transcribing texts in a variety of calligraphic styles in “Visual Hermeneutics and the Act of Turning the Page: A Genealogy of Liu Yuan’s *Lingyan’ge*,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (forthcoming).

106. See discussion of Pan’s edition, above. The only surviving example of this edition known today is in the Japanese Imperial Household Agency.

107. Among them are examples in the Tokyo University Library (A 00/5827), National Diet Library (pictures fully reproduced in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 2:cat. no. 22), Daitōkyū kinen bunko 大東急記念文庫 (partially reproduced in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 2:cat. 22A); and Japanese Imperial Household Agency (556-34); I have directly examined only the first of these. For discussions of the edition, see Sakakibara, “*Teikan-zu shōkai*,” 128; Kōno, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” 143–44; and Kobayashi, “Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei,” 21.

108. Gerhart, “*Honchō gashi* and Painting Programs,” 82. Kobayashi mentions the theory of an earlier scholar, Nakata Katsunosuke, that Hideyori’s edition was based on a Korean edition; “Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei,” 21. I have not found any Korean edition, nor documentary proof that Hideyoshi acquired either a Chinese or a Korean edition of *The Emperor’s Mirror* in Korea.

109. Japanese scholars describe Hideyori’s publication as based largely on what they thought was a more modest version (i.e., Zhang’s 1573 edition), called “B,” of a “palace” edition, “A” (i.e., Pan Yunduan’s large-sized replica of the submitted album); see Kōno, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” 143; and Kobayashi, “Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei,” 21. Hideyori’s edition, however, follows Hu Xian’s in erroneously substituting the character *zhu* for *zhao* in the title to “Summoning scholars to lecture on the classics” (see n. 58) and in putting page numbers with the same wording as Hu’s on the pictures, “former 1, former 2,” etc. (see n. 57).

110. I have examined an example of this edition in the Tokyo University Library (H 30-348); others extant include nine examples catalogued in the collection of the Imperial Household Agency; see Kunaichō Shoryōbu, *Wa-Kan tosho bunrui mokuroku* (Tokyo, 1951), 2:1073. The colophon by Kimura Utsu explains its format changes in terms of convenience to the reader and economizing on materials. In the bound book, the two halves of a picture appear side by side rather than on recto-verso pages. Even though the halves had to be carved on separate blocks, it saved paper to run the stories one after another and place the illustration somewhere in the middle of its accompanying text rather than maintain the strict sequence of the Chinese editions, in which the picture always preceded the text.

111. This line of argument is most fully developed by Gerhart, who cites supporting scholarship on the history of this period in her articles, “*Honchō gashi* and Painting Programs” and “Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars,” and in her book, *The Eyes of Power*.

112. In addition to reprints of Hideyori’s edition, a new edition with the texts translated into Japanese was published by Yao Sukezaemon 八尾助左衛門尉 in 1650; extant examples include two held by the Japanese Imperial Household Library (271-351 and 271-107) and one by the Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫 (Hō-shi 楓 – 子 253-10); I have not examined them.

113. Gerhart, “*Honchō gashi* and Painting Programs,” 6–7. Sanraku probably was working on commission for Hideyori.

114. The extant screens are reproduced in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 1:cat. no. 23; however, the list of stories given in the brief entry on pp. 150–51 does not match the order of reproduced pictures. Not having seen the screens in person, I cannot tell whether the problem is in the entry’s listing or in the order of the photographs for the individual panels.

115. Kobayashi, “Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu* no tensei,” English summary. Sakakibara agrees that there was a tendency for the subject to lose its didactic underpinnings and evolve into Chinese court genre scenes, but he emphasizes that the didactic function survived in some contexts; “*Teikan-zu shōkai*,” 136–37.



116. These projects are discussed in detail by Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kan'eidō zōei goten"; Gerhart, "Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars"; *eadem*, "*Honchō gashi* and Painting Programs"; and *eadem*, *The Eyes of Power*, chap. 2.

117. My discussion is based on the detailed account by Gerhart, "Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars," which reproduces the sliding-door paintings, as does her subsequent book, *The Eyes of Power*.

118. The sliding doors in the Jōdan no ma 上段の間, the most important chamber of the Jōrakuden, depict "Dispatching the favorite to apologize to the minister" (see n. 89 above), "Not employing those clever in speech (*Bu yong li kou* 不用利口)" (story no. 20), and "Begrudging the expense of an observatory" (see n. 72 above), all concerning Han Wendi. The doors in the Ichi no ma 一の間, the adjacent room, portray "Clearly discriminating false reports (*Ming bian zha shu* 明辨詐書)" (story no. 25, about Han Zhao di 昭帝), "Praising and rewarding local officials (*Bao jiang shou ling* 褒獎守令)" (story no. 26, about Han Xuandi 宣帝), and "[Sending a carriage with] rush-covered wheels to seek a worthy (*Pu lun zheng xian* 蒲輪徵賢)" (story no. 24, about Han Wudi 漢武帝). My translations differ slightly from Gerhart's.

119. Gerhart lists seventeenth-century Japanese screens, sliding doors, and hanging scrolls that depict stories from *The Emperor's Mirror*, generally referred to as "*Teikan-zu*"; see "Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars," 29, n. 77 and 31, n. 81. Other articles cited in nn. 1 and 3 above discuss some of these paintings. For references to relevant writings by additional scholars, see Kobayashi, "Kyūroku-zu byōbu ni miru *Teikan zusetsu no tensei*," 30, nn. 29–31.

120. See *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 1:cat. no. 23; compare with the hanging scrolls of the subject, reproduced as cat. no. 27; as well as with a pair of screens in the Tokyo National Museum that displays separate paintings by assorted artists pasted onto individual panels, reproduced on pp. 57–62 as reference fig. 4.

121. See *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu*, 1:cat. no. 24; the brief entry on p. 151 does not identify the stories, but they are transcribed near the top of each panel. Quitman E. Phillips discusses a similar combination of separate narrative scenes into a unified overall composition in contemporaneous screens illustrating a medieval Japanese demon tale; see "The Price Shuten Dōji Screens: A Study of Visual Narrative," *Ars Orientalis* 26 (1996): 1–21.

122. It is possible that the Manchu manuscript edition in the Palace Museum, Beijing (see n. 82) also has hand-done paintings, but I have no information about it. Even if so, the illustrations would not be comparable to the Japanese paintings, which were large-scale room decorations. Another possible ex-

ception is a set of four hanging scroll paintings in an unidentified Japanese private collection, recently published as the work of one Qiu Shilun 丘仕倫 and purportedly depicting stories from *The Emperor's Mirror*; see *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku, zokuhen* (Comprehensive illustrated catalogue of Chinese paintings, second series), comp. Toda Teisuke and Ogawa Hiromitsu (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1999), 3:JP12-516. Although identified as a Ming artist, Qiu does not appear in Chinese biographical sources. From the reproductions, the paintings appear to be from the late fifteenth-/early sixteenth-century Zhe school, many of whose painters worked in obscurity. If so, the paintings predate the compilation of *The Emperor's Mirror*. In any case, they do not resemble any of its illustrations, and no texts are visible in the reproductions. Finally, *The Emperor's Mirror* does not include the story of King Wen inviting Taigong Wang 太公望 to serve at court, which is the subject of one of the four hanging scrolls. For these reasons, I tend to think the hanging scrolls are unrelated to Zhang Juzheng's illustrated book.

123. Gerhart, "Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars," 34; and *eadem*, *The Eyes of Power*, 64–66. By implication, Hideyori and/or his adviser had a similar motive. Gene Phillips has suggested, however, that the Toyotomi and Tokugawa regimes did not appropriate the subject in exactly the same way (private communication). Perhaps the balanced imagery of Sanraku's screens advertises the patron/owner as a statesman conscious of an obligation to strive constantly to improve himself, while Tan'yū's paintings proclaim him the latterday Japanese counterpart of ancient Chinese exemplary rulers.

124. The only large Chinese paintings that I have found on themes related to *The Emperor's Mirror* are the four hanging scrolls in Japan, which probably predate the book (see n. 122).

125. All of these paintings are in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. *Breaking the Balustrade* and four of Ma Lin's *Portraits of Confucian Sages and Worthies* are reproduced in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, pls. 82 and 132–35, respectively; *Protesting the Seat* appears in *Masterpieces of Chinese Painting in the National Palace Museum* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1970), pl. 14. For relevant discussion, see Fong and Watt, 174–77 and 257; and for *Breaking the Balustrade*, see also n. 13 above.

126. Jang, "Form, Content, and Audience," 6; also see examples in Richard M. Barnhart et al., *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993).

127. For summary discussions, see Chang Lin-sheng, "The National Palace Museum: A History of the Collection," in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, 3–25; and Wen Fong, "Imperial Patronage of the Arts under the Ch'ing," in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, 555–63.

128. See p. 84 above.

129. For the list of holdings, see Kunaichō Shoryōbu, *Wa-Kan tosho bunrui mokuroku*, 2:1073. I examined the three Chinese editions in this group, of which one, a reprint of Zhang Juzheng's 1573 edition (acc. no. 14991-216-8; see n. 59), is covered with pedagogical notes in Japanese. To pursue the

topic further, it would be necessary to find out when the palace acquired the books and who wrote the annotations. Motoda Nagazane 元田永孚 (1818–91) would be a likely possibility; see Donald H. Shively, "Motoda Eifu: Confucian Lecturer to the Meiji Emperor," in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 302–33.



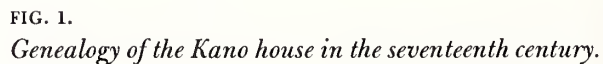


# *Issues of Talent and Training in the Seventeenth-Century Kano Workshop*

## ABSTRACT

The seventeenth-century Kano workshop laid the foundation for an ongoing discourse on talent (*shitsu*) and training (*gaku*), and it developed artistic methods that proved vital to its continued institutional health. This essay traces the early history of the Kano workshop and the methods it employed to secure organizational unity. As the numbers of branch workshops in Edo grew to feed increased demands for Kano painting, Kano leaders were forced to regularize training methods so as to define and clarify the Kano style. Two brothers, Kano Tan'yū (1602–74) and Kano Yasunobu (1613–85), met the challenge and insured the future productivity of the workshop. Tan'yū, a genius of great talent, solidified the family's high standing in the painting world and assured its financial success through his acclaimed work on government projects. After his death, Yasunobu followed a different path to guarantee the school's success, writing an important treatise, the *Gadō yōketsu* (Secret keys to the way of painting), that proposed valuing technical proficiency and mastery of the Kano canon over dependence on individual creative vision.





THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY KANO 狩野 workshop laid the foundation for an ongoing discourse on talent and training, and it developed artistic methods that proved vital to its continued institutional health.<sup>1</sup> Founded in the fifteenth century, the Kano family of painters flourished due to the political astuteness of their leaders, abundant talent, and outstanding organizational skills. The family system was a patriarchal one, modeled after medieval guilds that passed leadership down through generations of male blood relatives. In the second half of the seventeenth century, a formal school, consisting of multiple lineages of students who studied painting with Kano masters, developed as an extension of this family structure. This extensive network of Kano-trained painters encompassed not only shogunal painters but also those employed by regional domains, as well as low-ranking town painters who worked professionally as independent artists. But only a strict pedagogy could keep such a large and complex organization securely within the canons of Kano style. Therefore, pedagogy became the focus of the school. Political connections, patronage, organization, and influence on the art world in Japan were important factors that molded the Kano system of workshops into the *de facto* academy, responsible for training the great majority of painters throughout the Edo period.

This essay traces the early history of the Kano workshop and the methods it employed to secure organizational unity.<sup>2</sup> The strength of its guildlike system was to be severely tested when the Tokugawa 徳川 house secured hegemony over all of Japan and began to summon Kano painters to Edo to fulfill their demands for excellent paintings. The migration of painters from Kyoto to Edo required the Kano leadership to confront the issue of which artists should leave Kyoto and to consider how this division of their talents between Kyoto and Edo would affect the future of the organization. It was two brothers, Kano Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–74) and Kano Yasunobu 狩野安信 (1613–85), who met the challenge and insured the future productivity of the organization. In the first half of the century, Tan'yū, a genius of unsurpassed talent, solidified the family's high standing in the painting

world and assured its financial success through his acclaimed work on government projects. After Tan'yū's death, Yasunobu saw the need to follow a different path to guarantee the school's success. In so doing, he wrote an important treatise, the *Gadō yōketsu* 画道要訣 (Secret keys to the way of painting), that proposed valuing technical proficiency and mastery of the Kano canon over dependence on individual creative vision. This document effectively cemented the concept of training as paramount to the successful mastery of the Kano canon for thousands of painters in later centuries.

#### ORIGINS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY KANO ATELIER

Official government painting bureaus (*edokoro* 画所・絵所), established by the court as early as the Heian period (794–1185),<sup>3</sup> served as models for temple and shrine workshops and for family-based ateliers that developed during the Kamakura (1185–1333) and Muromachi (1392–1568) periods.<sup>4</sup> Throughout Japan's medieval era, many family-centered schools, such as the Takuma 宅磨, altered their styles under the influence of Chinese Chan (Zen) Buddhism and began to paint in the fashionable monochrome ink style.<sup>5</sup> Individuals with artistic talent also took advantage of the expanding market for secular art during the late Muromachi period by forming their own independent painting shops.<sup>6</sup> One such enterprising young artist was Kano Masanobu 狩野正信 (1434–1530). (See fig. 1 for a genealogy of Kano painters.) Founder of the Kano tradition, Masanobu worked for shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (r. 1449–73) in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> He worked primarily on his own, and a formal workshop was not formed until the sixteenth century under his son Motonobu 元信 (1476–1559). In the early part of that century, the family appears to have supported itself by operating as a guild of fanmakers (*ōgiza* 扇座) with financial support from Eimyōin 永明院, a subtemple of Tōfukuji 東福寺 in southwest Kyoto.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Motonobu received commissions for paintings from many sources, including the Ashikaga 足



利 government, members of the aristocracy, wealthy merchants, and major Kyoto shrines and temples; he produced an eclectic mix of subjects and styles to satisfy their various tastes.

Moreover, this extended family of painters employed many of the organizational methods used by the medieval guilds after which it was modeled. Four characteristics definitive of traditional guilds mark the basic organization of the Kano house: (1) a basis in familial ties that continued over many generations and was maintained through family handbooks, craft techniques, and trade secrets; (2) the hereditary acquisition of a craft or trade passed through the male members of the family, which also permitted the adoption of talented outsiders in order to perpetuate the family's collective prosperity; (3) a single vertical relationship of father-son/assistants, capped by the oldest member as the head; and (4) cooperating on large projects with other workshops and building alliances through contract or marriage.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1530s, the Kano workshop was relatively small, consisting of fewer than ten painters, with Motonobu as head, his three sons, Shōei 松栄 (1519–92), Yūsetsu 祐雪 (1514–62), and Jōshin 乗信 (n.d.), his younger brother Yukinobu 之信 (1513–75), and a few assistants who were probably not blood relatives.<sup>10</sup> Motonobu was the master painter responsible for contracting for projects and organizing their production. It was also Motonobu who generally created the overall compositional sketches and produced the crucial details of the paintings or, in the case of large commissions, the principal rooms in a building. Sons and nonhereditary male students, in order of status within the workshop, assisted with other aspects of production, such as preparing the paper, grinding pigments, painting backgrounds, and filling in large areas of color.<sup>11</sup> As the number of commissions increased, more assistants were brought in from outside the family and trained in Kano practices, but the hereditary members maintained control over all important decisions. In effect, the reputation of the atelier depended on the artistic and organizational skills of the family head, the master painter, and to a lesser extent, on other hereditary family members.

How this early Kano workshop trained its members to paint is crucial to our understanding of Kano artistic practice as it developed throughout the Edo period. Although we lack period documents, we may extrapolate from our knowledge of later Kano methods that the students learned by watching Motonobu paint and assisting him on commissions. Motonobu also developed specific methods for training his apprentices in order to unify the artistic production of the hereditary members and associates of the Kano house. The principal elements were the standardization of compositions, perpetuated with only minor stylistic changes,<sup>12</sup> and a distinctive style of brushwork that later became a hallmark of the Kano atelier.<sup>13</sup> Motonobu's students studied these elements through daily practice, thus insuring their mastery of the distinctive Kano style. When patrons, chiefly members of the military class and wealthy merchants, employed Kano painters for their projects, they were assured a certain standard and consistency of work. The Kano style of painting clearly lived up to expectations, or patrons would have turned to other workshops to supply their artistic needs.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, however, the very structure of the Kano atelier underwent a dramatic transformation because of the extraordinary talent of one artist—Kano Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543–90), Motonobu's grandson. Until this time, the family head had traditionally completed the most prestigious work, leaving less important areas to his assistants. But in 1566 Eitoku painted the sliding doors in the south-facing public rooms at Jūkōin 聚光院 (subtemple of Daitokuji 大徳寺), while his father and leader of the Kano family Shōei worked on the less visible interior rooms near the inner sanctuary. The unusual situation suggests that, at the young age of twenty-three, Eitoku had already demonstrated talent and productivity surprising enough to mandate change. After this date, Eitoku formed his own atelier and received painting commissions independently, while his father Shōei continued to lead the original workshop. Eitoku surely formed his own studio because his style of painting was sufficiently different from his father's to warrant the separation.<sup>14</sup>

The new branch allowed Shōei to teach orthodox brushwork in the main workshop and at the same time freed Eitoku to pursue his own unique artistic vision.<sup>15</sup> This internal split should not be viewed as a negative aberration in the traditional family structure. Rather, it was a catalyst for positive economic and stylistic developments.<sup>16</sup> Most important, Eitoku's newly established workshop demonstrates that the Kano organization, although closely bound by tradition, was flexible enough to adapt when it benefited the family as a whole. Enlarging the family structure through additional workshops allowed the Kano to corner a greater portion of the market and garner more monetary rewards. This adaptability became a hallmark of the Kano organization, allowing it to respond to ever-changing social and political environments.

#### CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WORKSHOP

In the early seventeenth century, pivotal events challenged the Kano workshop and resulted in radical changes in the *modus operandi* of its members. Specifically, a spate of building and decorating projects, instituted by the new Tokugawa government,<sup>17</sup> necessitated an expansion of the Kano organization and spurred the development of methods for training artists.

In the early years, when military hegemon Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616) first decided to turn the dilapidated castle town of Edo into his capital, he sought the services of superlative engineers, artists, and architects from throughout the country. The Tokugawa encouraged talented individuals to relocate by awarding them grants of land for studios, prestigious titles, and promises of work. Only the best were invited to participate in the building of the new capital, and being chosen conferred instant, far-reaching prestige. Those chosen included members of the Kano workshop, whose fortunes then became closely allied with the Tokugawa.

As governments rose and fell rapidly at this time in Japanese history, the Kano had no guarantee that Tokugawa hegemony would last, but, should the

Tokugawa endure, the Kano would be assured future government patronage. Either decision—to move or not to move—would dramatically affect the workshop's future security. The Kano gambled and began accepting Tokugawa overtures, creating additional workshops to meet shogunal demands while attempting to canonize instructional methods and maintain workshop unity.<sup>18</sup>

A crucial question seems to have been whether the entire workshop should move to Edo or just some of its individual members. The matter was probably considered by the titular head of the house and elder members, and although we do not know how the plan was conceived, in fact, the main workshop remained in Kyoto while certain hereditary family members left for Edo to set up subsidiary workshops. The order in which the individual artists received their summons to Edo and were granted land there for studios is significant in understanding the internal organization of the Kano workshop in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup>

#### THE POLITICS OF RELOCATION

The Tokugawa were determined to build a new capital that would showcase their complete hegemony over the nation, and they summoned the very best painters to interpret their power through art. They chose the Kano over others because of their early affiliation with the Tokugawa and their proven success in creating powerful visual symbols for past shogunal rulers.<sup>20</sup>

When Edo Castle 江戸城 was near completion in the 1620s, the first painters were summoned. Although artists were immediately needed for the castle, the Tokugawa also planned numerous other projects around the country<sup>21</sup> that were visually impressive and immensely costly.<sup>22</sup> These projects also required the attention of loyal and talented painters. Such building enterprises, in both size and decoration, came to represent the political and economic strength of the Tokugawa government and to express its cultural sophistication and aesthetic taste to the Japanese nation as a whole.<sup>23</sup>



The order in which individual Kano artists received summons to Edo and grants of land is important because that order closely paralleled the internal hierarchy of the workshop in the first half of the seventeenth century. Therefore, the first members of the Kano house invited to move to Edo were male blood relatives of the main house. No pupils or adopted members of the family were offered positions.<sup>24</sup> The order of invitations indicates that the Tokugawa were aware of the current internal hierarchy of the family and understood its subtler implications.

The first major Kano artist to move to Edo and establish a collateral branch in the seventeenth century was Kano Naganobu 狩野長信 (1577–1654), the oldest living hereditary member of the Kano family and Eitoku's youngest brother. The branch line that he formed, later called Okachimachi 御徒士町, became one of twelve second-ranked painting workshops (*omote eshi* 表絵師) employed by the Tokugawa bakufu and their daimyo allies.<sup>25</sup> Naganobu was the youngest of Kano Shōei's sons,<sup>26</sup> and since his elder brother Sōshū 狩野宗周 (1551–1601) inherited the main workshop after their father's death, Naganobu probably had already founded his own studio before the Tokugawa summons to Edo. We do not know the exact date Naganobu received the title *goyō eshi* 御用絵師 (painter employed by the bakufu) and moved to Edo, but it is widely speculated to have been even before Ieyasu defeated Toyotomi Hideyoshi's 豊臣秀吉 son and heir at Osaka in 1615.<sup>27</sup>

The timing of Naganobu's move is significant because his acceptance came well before it was clear that Tokugawa Ieyasu could consolidate his power. If Naganobu moved to Edo between 1610 and 1615, the risk to the workshop was great because at that time only two hereditary members, Naganobu and Eitoku's youngest son Takanobu 孝信 (1571–1618), were experienced enough to start collateral lines. Takanobu seems to have been a favorite of the Kyoto court, completing a number of important projects for the imperial palace, and the court's favoring of Takanobu may have made Naganobu the better candidate for a move to Edo. Ieyasu and his heirs undoubtedly regarded Naganobu's move as an act of fealty by the Kano workshop, for they

rewarded him and subsequent Kano artists who transferred to Edo with the title *goyō eshi*, an honor that denoted Tokugawa patronage and included an ample government stipend. The Tokugawa granted this title exclusively to Kano artists during the early decades of the century.<sup>28</sup>

Not many years after Naganobu's move to Edo, in 1617 (Genna 元和 3), Kano Takanobu's eldest son Tan'yū (1602–74) was appointed bakufu *goyō eshi*,<sup>29</sup> and in 1621 (Genna 7), at the age of nineteen,<sup>30</sup> Tan'yū was granted 1,033 *tsubo* 坪 of land (approximately 36,000 square feet) for a residence outside the Kajibashi 鍛冶橋 Gate southeast of Edo Castle.<sup>31</sup> This parcel of land was sizable, considering that during this same period the residences of elite bannermen (*hatamoto* 旗本)<sup>32</sup> in Edo were estimated at between 100 and 2,000 *tsubo*, depending on their office and stipend.<sup>33</sup> This generous grant clearly indicates that Tan'yū's budding genius was recognized and sought by the nascent Tokugawa government. At the 1621 date of his move to Edo, Tan'yū was not in line to succeed as head of the main Kano house, a position then held by his cousin Sadanobu 貞信 (1597–1623), who inherited it from his father Mitsunobu 光信 (1561–1608). Sadanobu was Mitsunobu's only son and the seventh head of the Kano house descending from its founder Masanobu. Tan'yū's father Takanobu was still living in 1617 and, had his father so desired, Tan'yū, as eldest son, would have remained in Kyoto as designated heir to his father's line. Instead, Tan'yū accepted the title *goyō eshi* in 1617 and began to plan his atelier in Edo, surely with Takanobu's support and approval.<sup>34</sup> Tan'yū's younger brother Naonobu 尚信 (1607–50) then succeeded as head of the family workshop in Kyoto upon Takanobu's demise. For Tan'yū, Tokugawa patronage at this early age provided opportunities to develop his talents and make a name for himself.

There is no indication that in the 1620s, when these events transpired, the Kano or the bakufu had any intention of moving Sadanobu or the main Kano branch from Kyoto to Edo. Either the bakufu considered it beneficial to leave some experienced artists to work on projects in the Kyoto area, or, guided by the concerns of older members of the house,

Sadanobu simply chose not to go. The Kano probably intended to maintain flourishing workshops in both Kyoto and Edo and, if possible, to monopolize artistic production throughout the country.

Following Tan'yū's move to the new capital, his second brother Naonobu was also made *goyō eshi* and given a parcel of land at Takegawachō 竹川町 in Edo, where he built his new residence and studio in 1630 (Kan'ei 寛永 7).<sup>35</sup> His acceptance of the title and subsequent move to Edo suggests that Naonobu either abandoned his family position and created a new collateral branch in Edo, or he simply moved his existing workshop. Because Naonobu, not Takanobu, is considered founder of the Kobikichō 木挽町 collateral branch in Edo, the former scenario is probable.<sup>36</sup>

By 1630, Tan'yū had become the most sought-after and powerful painter in the land. His status resulted from both his own immense artistic talent and his close associations with his powerful Tokugawa patrons. He was clearly in a position to assist his younger brothers, both artistically and politically, and it was now apparent that the future of the Kano house lay with Tan'yū and the Tokugawa in Edo. Furthermore, Tan'yū's cousin Sadanobu had died in 1623 leaving no heir, and leadership of the main Kano house passed to yet another son of Takanobu, Tan'yū's youngest brother Yasunobu (1613–85). Although Yasunobu was adopted as heir to the main Kano house upon Sadanobu's death, sometime during the last decade of the Kan'ei period (1624–43) he, too, was appointed *goyō eshi* by the Tokugawa and moved to Edo, where his workshop became known as the Nakabashi 中橋. Yasunobu, however, did not give up his claim to leadership of the main house in order to make this move. Today the Nakabashi branch is still considered the main Kano house (*sōke* 宗家), tracing its heritage through Yasunobu back to Kano Masanobu in the fifteenth century.

From this point on, the careers of Tan'yū, the eldest and most talented of the brothers, and Yasunobu, the youngest and purportedly least talented, begin to diverge in ways that shaped the future of the Kano house. On the one hand, Yasunobu's decision to move to Edo was pragmatic;

the rest of his immediate family was already living there, and as the youngest, Yasunobu was dependent upon his older brothers, particularly Tan'yū. While Yasunobu was the designated leader of the main Kano workshop, his very talented and politically well-connected brother Tan'yū actually directed most of the major painting commissions for the Tokugawa. Yasunobu was eleven years younger and, according to sources such as *Koga bikō* 古画備考, he did not paint as well as Tan'yū and was consistently passed over to direct major projects.<sup>37</sup> But, as discussed below, Yasunobu's contribution was the *Gadō yōketsu* (Secret keys to the way of painting, 1680), a treatise on painting theory and method that was to become crucial to the continued success of the Kano academy.

Other Kano artists active in the first half of the seventeenth century remained in Kyoto.<sup>38</sup> Kano Naizen Ikkei 狩野内膳一溪 (1599–1662) had studied with Mitsunobu but was not a hereditary member of the family.<sup>39</sup> Kano Jinnojō 狩野甚之丞 (n.d.), son of Sōshū, was Sadanobu's close supporter and assistant. Kano Kōi 狩野興以 (?–1636) and Watanabe Ryōkei 渡辺了慶 (?–1645) were adopted pupils associated with Mitsunobu. Finally, there were Kano Sanraku 狩野山楽 (1559–1635), an adopted student of Eitoku, and his adopted son Sansetsu 山雪 (1589–1651).<sup>40</sup> All remained in Kyoto, and, significantly, of these only Jinnojō was a hereditary family member. As the son of Eitoku's brother Sōshū, Jinnojō had worked closely with Mitsunobu and upon his death looked after and assisted the young Sadanobu. Kōi had close ties to the three sons of Takanobu. When Takanobu died in 1618, it was Kōi, as Mitsunobu's oldest and most talented student, who was requested to take care of his nephews and attend to their training. Jinnojō, Kōi, and Ryōkei, possibly because of their age and ties to Mitsunobu and Sadanobu, remained in Kyoto. Yet they continued to be included in Tokugawa-sponsored projects, especially those located in the Kyoto area.

In summary, over a period of just two decades, the Tokugawa enticed to Edo with titles, stipends, and land nearly all the blood relatives of the main house, leaving adopted members and students to



work in Kyoto. This drawing of talent to the center indicates the importance that Kano leaders placed on working for the shogunate. Adopted members and students, regardless of their talent, did not have the same status within the Kano family and thus were not given similar access to shogunal patronage. Hereditary position was clearly a dominant factor in the relocation of house members, with those of highest rank, the eldest, and the most talented moving to Edo earliest. This movement of hereditary Kano artists to Edo mirrored a larger "brain drain" of human resources that accompanied the ongoing shift of power, resources, and culture from the Kinai 畿内 region of Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara to the Kantō 関東 region around Edo under the early Tokugawa shoguns. That Tan'yū was one of the first Kano painters to move to Edo and dedicate his services to the Tokugawa is a marker of the importance of his talent to the Tokugawa.

Once the power base of the Kano family was firmly reestablished in Edo, its leadership embarked on a significant internal reorganization, a visionary reshuffling of the hierarchy that was designed to take advantage of Tan'yū's immense talent. Although his youngest brother Yasunobu was nominal head of the main Kano house, Tan'yū was its functional head. It was Tan'yū who was consistently requested to paint the highest status rooms, who was contacted by patrons, and who took responsibility for the overall quality of work produced under the Kano name. Much as when Shōei in the sixteenth century had been faced with Eitoku's unparalleled talent, the seventeenth-century Kano workshop was forced to devise ways to take collective advantage of Tan'yū's talent. It fell to Tan'yū to satisfy the artistic needs of the powerful Tokugawa, while Yasunobu attended to the administrative needs of the organization.

#### RESTRUCTURING THE KANO HOUSE

Today art historians generally evaluate Tan'yū's importance as an artist on the basis of the quality of his extant paintings, but an artist's popularity with his patrons is another measure of excellence, one

that accommodates the judgment of his direct contemporaries. In early modern Japan, the number of major commissions in which an artist participated and his position of responsibility within those projects reflect his impact in his own time.

Traditionally, the head of the main Kano house held the position of highest status and officially directed all major projects. It mattered little whether this artist was the most talented because all members of the family worked together on the project, with older, more experienced painters creating the designs and younger painters and pupils providing the technical labor. The result was a product bearing the artistic signature of a Kano painting. The head of the main house was credited with the project, indicating his nominal responsibility for its overall quality, and he would be listed first in historical records as a sign of respect for his position. Whenever an artist other than the titular head of the house is listed first, it is cause for investigation.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Tan'yū is listed in documents as the painter in charge of almost every important project from the death of Sadanobu in 1623 on, even though his brother Yasunobu headed the main house and thus ought to have had this honor.<sup>41</sup> Although Tan'yū is never listed as titular head of the main house (which later became the Nakabashi branch of *oku eshi* 奥絵師) in any genealogical records of the Kano, throughout the seventeenth century he functioned in that role. Early on, this anomaly might have been explained by Yasunobu's youth; he was only ten when he inherited his position, and Tan'yū was eleven years older and more experienced. But the situation did not change as Yasunobu matured: the Tokugawa patrons continued to bypass Yasunobu, requesting that Tan'yū oversee their projects.

This phenomenon has not gone unnoticed by Japanese art historians, several of whom have evaluated the change in the internal hierarchy of the Kano house by examining extant contemporary documents.<sup>42</sup> A survey of these sources can resolve this dichotomy between named and unnamed head of the workshop and alter the assumptions on which it is based. Rather than viewing the family structure as

rigid, we can thus reflect on its tremendous flexibility and recognize that Tan'yū's situation in the seventeenth century was not unique, even within the short history of the Kano house. The sixteenth-century rise of Eitoku relative to Shōei had raised similar issues. That resolution offered a precedent: Shōei was designated head of the main Kano house, while his son Eitoku ran his own thriving atelier, which received most shogunal commissions. In spite of his tremendous success as an artist, Eitoku never inherited the house headship; rather, he founded his own branch line. This solution satisfactorily maintained Kano leadership structures while at the same time accommodating the dynamic strengths exhibited by a hereditary family member. Headship passed to Shōei's second son Sōshū (1551–1601). Shōei, Sōshū, and Eitoku all headed their own workshops, but the headship stayed within the designated line. The situation with Tan'yū and Yasunobu in the seventeenth century was nearly identical, as was its resolution, suggesting that a dependable method of incorporating individuals of extraordinary talent within the family structure already existed. Once again, needs were defined according to the organization, not the individual; both Yasunobu and Tan'yū seemed content to perform the work for which they were best suited.

Tan'yū may have been the premier Kano painter, but it was Yasunobu who administratively shepherded the Kano organization through potentially fracturing change. By mid-century, the number of Kano artists had so increased that the main house, at the pinnacle of a now substantial pyramidal organization, was forced to explore new ways to support the growth of numerous collateral branches while still maintaining organizational control over them. One means of supporting this expansion was through the creation of written texts formalizing Kano history and methods. Kano Yasunobu's seminal work, his 1680 *Gadō yōketsu*, addressed the critical need for a Kano standard of painting education. It was his introduction to this text that first delineated the opposition of innate talent versus acquired technical skill, thus defining Kano pedagogical goals for centuries to come.

#### KANO-PRODUCED ART HISTORICAL TEXTS

The writing and publication of printed books in the seventeenth century were stimulated by government support of education for the military class and by commercial enterprise.<sup>43</sup> Encouraged both by this trend and by their own needs to disseminate information to a greater number of artists, members of the Kano family produced several important books on art history and theory during this century. Those Kano artists choosing to write such texts frequently were in embattled positions within the school's hierarchy; authority not achieved through actual painting or rank might, for some, be asserted through authorship.

In the early decades of the century, Kano Naizen Ikkei (1599–1662) wrote *Kōsoshū* 後素集 (Compilation of painting, 1623),<sup>44</sup> a book that expounded on various Chinese painting subjects. Ikkei also wrote *Tansei jakuboku shū* 丹青若木集 (Compilation of the young saplings of painting, 1662), consisting of biographies of Japanese painters.<sup>45</sup> Ikkei was not a blood relative of the Kano family and was also not a member of one of the four highest-ranking Kano houses, or *oku eshi*.<sup>46</sup> His father Naizen Ichiō 内膳一翁 (1570–1616) had been a recognized pupil of Kano Shōei, and Ikkei himself is credited as the founder of the Negishi Ogyōnomatsu 根岸御行松 Kano (Negishi Miyukinomatsu Kano) family, one of the second-tier branch families (*omote eshi*).<sup>47</sup>

Ikkei's *Kōsoshū* is largely a translation of previously published Chinese literature on painting, although it is generally accorded the status of the first book on painting theory (*garan* 画論) written in Japan. *Tansei jakuboku shū* is a history of Japanese painters and as such includes 130 biographical sketches on such artists as Josetsu 如拙 (fl. 1386?–1428?), Shūbun 周文 (fl. 1414–63), Sesshū 雪舟 (1420–1506), as well as information on lineages like the Unkoku 雲谷, Tosa 土佐, and Kano. Neither of Ikkei's books included self-formulated opinions, family secrets, or inside information about Kano training methods. Ikkei himself was not an "insider," and as an *omote eshi* he did not have access to or permission to publish such information.



*Honchō gashi* 本朝画史 (Japanese painting history) was published in 1693.<sup>48</sup> Its compiler, Kano Einō 狩野永納 (1631–97), probably reworked and edited material written in the first half of the century by his father and teacher Kano Sansetsu.<sup>49</sup> A preface to the text by Hayashi (Shunsai) Gahō 林(春斎)鶯峰 (1618–80) is dated Enpō 延宝 6 (1678), indicating that the writing was completed at least twenty years prior to publication. Furthermore, Einō published an earlier edition (as five woodblock-printed books) in 1691 under the title *Honchō gaden* 本朝画伝 (Japanese painting tradition).<sup>50</sup>

Members of the Kano atelier clearly recognized the power of words to rectify or amend history, and it was not uncommon for the writer simultaneously to attempt to enhance his own status or position within the school.<sup>51</sup> Art historian Sakakibara Satoru has suggested that sections of the *Honchō gashi* contain strong political messages and that the text was designed, in part, to reassert the legitimate hegemony of the Kyoto Kano under Sanraku over the Edo Kano under Yasunobu and Tan'yū.<sup>52</sup> Einō was one of the Kano artists who did not move to Edo, and he was not one of the inner circle of painters for the bakufu. The Kyo[to] Kano, of which he was third-generation head, were *omote eshi*. Thus, the impact of Einō's text, specifically his ideas about lineage, was most readily felt by the artists living in Kyoto who had been overshadowed by the Edo-based painters.

The most important Kano treatise, however, for understanding their workshop training methods is Kano Yasunobu's *Gadō yōketsu* (Secret keys to the way of painting), the first draft of which appeared in 1680.<sup>53</sup> This work was the product of the established Kano hierarchy: Yasunobu was the designated head of the main house and the only living brother of the recently deceased Kano Tan'yū. In a critical introduction and nineteen articles on various Chinese-based criteria for good painting, he set out the proper way to paint according to Kano tradition.

#### WRITING AND RATIONALE OF THE *GADŌ YŌKETSU*

What compelled Kano Yasunobu to write the *Gadō yōketsu*? Certainly the text was meant to enhance his

status within the school and control the effects of Tan'yū's great talent, but its primary purpose was to undergird the organizational structure for the mature Kano academy in the Edo period. The future of the Kano school could not depend on the fortuitous appearance of gifted hereditary members; there had to be methods and rationale supporting the Kano institution. The text's introductory section therefore outlines Yasunobu's vision for the future of the organization, although it was probably transcribed by his most promising student Kano Shōun 狩野昌運 (1637–1702). Shōun's assistance with the writing may have been necessary because of Yasunobu's advanced age; he would have been sixty-seven in 1680. Additionally, it was not uncommon in Japan for a master to have a student attend to the tedious task of writing down his words and thoughts, regardless of his age. Yasunobu then controlled its printing and its distribution.

One practical problem facing the Kano leadership was quality control, given the sheer number of students that the expanding house had to train. Before the publication of the *Gadō yōketsu*, Kano training methods, like other guild traditions, were transmitted orally and through students' participation in projects supervised by the master. Increased numbers of students undermined the ideal of one-on-one instruction and side-by-side work with the master. The organization had once been small enough that all hereditary members worked together on projects. Now the main workshop must monitor standards while training hundreds of artists working for numerous collateral lines and also must ensure that the stylistic components of the Kano painting tradition were maintained and protected. Even the heads of important branch families of *omote eshi* seldom had the opportunity to work with the school's best talent. Tan'yū, for instance, worked only with his own direct pupils or those of his brothers. One way to solve this lack of integrated effort and practical experience was to publish a training manual, the *Gadō yōketsu*.

Another factor that may have induced Yasunobu to write this text was a growing sense of historical self-awareness in Japan in the late seventeenth century. At this time various interest groups sought to develop

clear collective identities by writing their own histories, many based on Chinese historiographic models.<sup>54</sup> Among painters, the Kano were not alone. Tosa Mitsuoki 土佐光起 (1617–91), head of a rival workshop located in Kyoto, outlined the Tosa lineage and documented Tosa practices in his *Honchō gahō taiden* 本朝画法大伝 (Great tradition of Japanese painting), published in 1690, just ten years after Yasunobu's *Gadō yōketsu*. Mitsuoki's essay documented art theory and painting methods for the Tosa, much as Yasunobu had for the Kano.

Advancing years may also have affected Yasunobu. Then in his late sixties, he surely had begun to think about how to protect the future of the Kano organization. Since Yasunobu died five years after the *Gadō yōketsu* was published, he may have then been feeling the effects of waning health. His older brother Tan'yū had died in 1674. Not only might this have been a reminder of mortality; it surely freed Yasunobu to promote views that could have been interpreted as critical of his famous brother. Ironically, after a lifetime of being overshadowed by Tan'yū, Yasunobu at last had the opportunity to stand unchallenged as shaper of the Kano future.

Therefore, by writing the seminal *Gadō yōketsu*, Yasunobu actively sought to lead the organization he had for so many years served in title only. In birth order, Yasunobu had been the youngest and thus at the bottom of the hierarchy. His painting talents were marginal, especially when compared to his brothers Tan'yū and Naonobu. He was the last of the three brothers to be noticed, the last to be given honors, and the last to have rights and power. His selection to succeed Kano Sadanobu as head of the main house had been merely serendipitous. Now, as the last living brother, Yasunobu could finally act as the workshop head ought.

Yasunobu's weakness as a painter made his position as head of the family awkward. Extant visual records generally affirm his lack of artistic talent, while historical records openly denigrate him as the least talented of the three brothers. One of the most damning condemnations was written by his own pupil Kano Shōun, the very one who assisted him with the writing of the *Gadō yōketsu*. The fol-

lowing excerpt from *Shōun hikki* 昌運筆記 (Written record of Shōun) is faint praise indeed from a favored student who knew his master well.

Kano Eishin [Yasunobu] did not paint as satisfactorily as his older brother Tan'yū. When Tan'yū came around to look at his work, Eishin would hide it and refuse to show it to him. One time, a councilor to the shogun called the three brothers together and arranged painting supplies for them to participate in a painting competition. Tan'yū showed the councilor the paintings that he himself and Naonobu had produced but held back the painting by Eishin. Another example was when Eishin painted heavenly deities and a dragon at Asakusa Kannondō 浅草観音堂. Tan'yū scolded him saying that such subjects did not belong in that type of room. Although Eishin was by far the least accomplished painter of the three brothers, he was assured of being adopted into the main house and of becoming the eighth generation head of the family because Sadanobu, the seventh generation head, had no heirs. In temples around Kyoto, there are screens and sliding door panels painted by Kohōgen [Motonobu], Eitoku, Tan'yū, Shume [Naonobu] that are truly great. There are also paintings by Yasunobu that do not appear to be as inferior as the stories lead us to expect.<sup>55</sup>

One wonders why, in light of this telling excerpt, Shōun chose to study with Yasunobu. Since Shōun was born in 1637, he probably would not have been able to work with either of Yasunobu's two elder brothers: Tan'yū was not accepting new students by the late 1650s, and Naonobu died in 1650. It is also possible that Shōun's writing avenges some slight by Yasunobu, but this is an unlikely reason for a master's favorite student to deride his talent publicly. Presumably, it would be more common for the student to overemphasize his master's good qualities at the expense of his weaknesses. It is also possible that Shōun was simply recounting contemporary stories about Yasunobu, for he seems to relent in his harsh judgment in the last sentence, noting almost as an afterthought that Yasunobu's paintings did not really appear to be as bad as might be expected.<sup>56</sup>



There are undoubtedly personal dynamics at work here that require further exploration.

Fortunately, we do not have to take Shōun's word alone on Yasunobu's lack of talent. The supporting facts—Yasunobu's slow development, his artistic failure in 1633 when he was charged with the decoration of Taitokuin 台徳院 mausoleum, and his subsequent relinquishing of all major commissions to his brother Tan'yū—have all been well documented and are summarized in the appendix. Although Yasunobu was titular head of the main house and therefore should have directed these projects, heading the decoration of Taitokuin was the only chance he was given to prove his worth as a painter. The results were unacceptable, or perhaps merely mediocre, and thereafter Yasunobu never again directed a major project.

Considering Yasunobu's background, the system he devised to perpetuate the superiority of the now vast Kano family was brilliant. Cleverly, he reinterpreted ancient Chinese art theories in a manner that turned his own weakness—doubtful talent in painting—into a strength. He proclaimed that the innate talent of an artist was relatively unimportant for the future success of the school. Rather, the strict training of pupils in traditional Kano methods was the only way to ensure that high-quality painting, and clearly Kano painting, would continue from one generation to the next. This masterful construction effectively killed two birds with one stone. By interpreting his own lack of talent as unimportant, Yasunobu also quietly disparaged the value of Tan'yū's significant abilities.

Unfortunately, Yasunobu's theoretical position on this issue may also have had a stultifying effect on Kano creativity for the next two hundred years, at least in the eyes of some critics. Indeed, Yasunobu's emphasis on training in the *Gadō yōketsu* had far-reaching repercussions that are believed to have provided the prime rationale for the development and use of copy books (*funpon* 粉本) in training students in Kano methods throughout the remaining years of the Edo period.<sup>57</sup> In fact, critics often cite an overemphasis on mastering technique in Kano training as the cause for what they see as a general decline in quality in Kano painting after the six-

teenth century. One twentieth-century art historian described the prodigious output by later Kano artists as "artisan work," declaring that, "By the middle of the seventeenth-century, the Kano School had already lost much of its initial intensity of conception and had begun to descend to mere technical virtuosity."<sup>58</sup> Criticism of Kano training methods and their visual results was endemic even in the nineteenth century. Harvard scholar and self-proclaimed Japanophile Ernest Fenollosa referred to painting practice in the Kano school as employing "almost tyrannical methods of technique,"<sup>59</sup> and he criticized Kano painting after Tan'yū's day as "mere commonplace repetition, without a spark of genius."<sup>60</sup> Although Fenollosa noted a revival of Kano art in the late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries, that, too, he deemed "without competent direction; skill without ideals."<sup>61</sup> Yet these views must be balanced with the understanding that, had Yasunobu not formalized his approach to painting pedagogy, the burgeoning Kano system of workshops might well have collapsed.

Yasunobu's *Gadō yōketsu* recorded in print the Kano methods that had proven so successful with their shogunal patrons. Controlling access to the text was thus vital to the organization's continuing prosperity. *Gadō yōketsu* was first published as a private edition of five woodblock-printed volumes, suggesting that only a limited number of copies was originally circulated. Ownership of the books was carefully regulated through a system of licensing, whereby the main house managed the granting of official licenses to students trained in all other branches. Upon completing their training in the Kano academy, graduates had to swear to assist their Kano teachers and, most importantly, to protect Kano secret traditions. In the final years of the seventeenth century, graduates received their own woodblock-printed copies of the *Gadō yōketsu* and permission to use the Kano name as long as they remained loyal to the house. The following is an example of such a painting license, probably issued after mid-century, to Watanabe Kyūbee 渡辺九兵衛, also known as Kano Ryōshi 狩野了之 (?–1660),<sup>62</sup> from his teacher Kano (Ukyō) Tokinobu 狩野 (右京) 時信 (1642–78):<sup>63</sup>

License:

As long as pupil Watanabe Kyūbee vows never to defy [rebel against] the teacher but always to assist him, to endeavor to be loyal, and moreover not to be negligent about House work, his permission to use the Kano name will not end.

2nd Month 4th Day

Kano Kyūbee

Presented by Kano Ukyō [seal]<sup>64</sup>

#### THE INTRODUCTION TO THE *GADŌ YŌKETSU*

How Yasunobu intended the Kano workshops to thrive in the future was the subject of his introduction to the *Gadō yōketsu*, wherein he declared the importance of perpetuating traditional training methods. His first paragraph serves to situate the text, relating it to the past and to ancient Chinese painting traditions:<sup>65</sup>

Since Fu Xi 伏羲 drew the eight trigrams, the way of painting has corresponded with virtue in heaven and earth and extends to the nature of the myriad phenomena. During the time of the Yellow Emperor [Huang di 黃帝] they drew pictures based on the forms of dragons, turtles, fish, and birds, finally inventing characters. Since that time painting and calligraphy have developed together. Painting enables the development of civilization. It improves human morals, intensifies the unknowable, and measures the obscure. Painting and calligraphy are one and cannot be separated.

This paragraph lends genealogical credence to Yasunobu's text by linking it to the origins of painting in China and, specifically, to the Tang-period *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名画記 (Record of famous painters of all dynasties), which it blatantly appropriates.<sup>66</sup>

Relating subjects to ancient China and to the past was a common method of introducing Japanese literature. Throughout its history, China served as a model for Japan in many facets of its culture. In the seventeenth century, allusions to Chinese texts were integral to all areas of scholarship, with Tokugawa historians applying principles of Chinese Confucian

historiography to their own writings in a wholesale manner.<sup>67</sup> References to China and the ancient past had the effect of magnifying the importance and seriousness of the subject. For Yasunobu, his acquaintance with such a valuable Chinese art historical text attested to his deep knowledge of painting and emphasized his status as a highly literate man, thereby lending the sections that follow even greater credence.

In the second paragraph, Yasunobu divides painting into two basic types—one type generated by innate talent (*shitsu* 質) and the other accomplished through long and careful study (*gaku* 学):

In painting there is both substance and learning. What is called substance (*shitsu*) is the innate talent with which one is born. Learning (*gaku*) is when one studies and applies oneself to the way [of painting], attaining mastery over the art. In speaking of its origins, painting incorporates all things natural to heaven and earth—the sun, the moon, and stars in the heavens, the mountains, streams, grasses, and trees on earth, and in between, the comings and goings of humans, clouds and vapors, wind and rain. Words can express these marvels, as can painting. Together, the two [painting and poetry] are truly marvelous; they are rightly divine.

The third and final paragraph expands and clarifies Yasunobu's argument favoring training over talent. In this section, Yasunobu also writes of his own family tradition, thereby relating the substance of the ancient Chinese texts to the Kano house and his own situation in seventeenth-century Japan:

In general, paintings produced by talent are no match for those produced through training. In my family tradition, it is said that the subtlety of paintings created through innate talent is truly remarkable. But while valued, it is difficult as a method for future generations. Although the pinnacle of learning can be transmitted only through intense suffering, it is an immutable way, fully transmittable to future generations who will receive it, and nothing



will be lost. The way [of training] remains for posterity, both through oral and written means. Thus, painting begins with method and regards sublime talent as secondary. Because it is difficult to appreciate the ways of the ancients appropriately without fully mastering their methods, we should refine our discussion of painting and make contemplation of the high level of artisanship of the past our goal.

Mention of his family's high regard for paintings produced by innate talent is Yasunobu's acknowledgment of the extraordinary talent of such relatives as Eitoku and more recently his esteemed brother Tan'yū. But he immediately counters that praise by citing what he sees as a major drawback to their talent: there is no guarantee that talent will be inherited by the next generation. Then, he wonders, what will happen to the Kano family tradition? Yasunobu may have been thinking of the time in the sixteenth century when, after Eitoku's death, his unique style, popular as it was with important patrons, was not perpetuated by any of the painters directly connected to his workshop. Whether this was because his students could not replicate his dazzling style or chose not to because it did not represent Kano orthodoxy is a matter of debate.<sup>68</sup>

More likely, however, in writing this portion of the text, Yasunobu was contemplating the situation after Tan'yū's death. When a talented artist like Tan'yū or Eitoku organizes his own atelier and has a brilliant impact on the art world, what happens when his heirs display a lesser talent for painting? How could the Kano workshop survive and continue to grow after the passing of such an enormous talent? To Yasunobu, the only reasonable answer to this problem was that the heirs must be carefully trained through long and arduous study in the family's secret techniques so that they might credibly continue the workshop's production. Such training would at least maintain the status quo of the academy when brilliant talent did not appear. Furthermore, solid training could nurture such talent in its early stages. To Yasunobu, a reassertion of Kano training methods could only benefit the academy as a whole.

Interestingly, Yasunobu's solution, although certainly the result of practical concerns, was hardly

unique. Several early Chinese texts adopted a similar stance toward the issues of talent and training, using virtually the same words, and it is possible that Yasunobu was guided by these lofty Chinese ideas on training. Northern Song court official Han Zhuo 韓拙 (active ca. 1095–ca. 1125) wrote, "Those men who are without learning may be said to be without standards; that is, without the standards and methods of the ancients."<sup>69</sup> Han Zhuo expatiated as follows on the proper way to transmit learning:

How does one transmit the least remains of the ancients or arrive at the secrets of former sages? "No one has ever become skilled by not studying." How true are these words! Generally, a scholar should first adhere to one school's fixed methods. Then, after he has successfully mastered them, he may change them to create his own style. . . . Accordingly, it is study that leads to the creation of the "marvelous," and to the perfection of purity in art.<sup>70</sup>

At least the first step of this method, copying old masters, was officially sanctioned by Yasunobu in his position as head of the Kano family. The concept of permitting the student to proceed to more creative endeavors beyond copying developed more fully in the later years of the Edo period as the school searched for ways to maintain student enrollments and revitalize their workshops.<sup>71</sup>

Nonetheless, Yasunobu's solution had more than just the wisdom of ancient Chinese texts for guidance. Careful training in family traditions was already recognized in Japan as a tried and true method of transmission among hereditary artisan groups. For centuries craftsmen, performers, sculptors, calligraphers—all manner of hereditary groups—transmitted their craft from one generation to the next by carefully guarding and preserving secret training methods. The family benefited financially from an heir who was particularly talented, but as long as an artist was thoroughly trained in his craft, could reproduce the family style competently, and was willing to work hard, the workshop survived. This formula had the obvious effect of encouraging close adherence to the methods of the

past and sometimes had the additional unwelcome effect of stifling creativity by eschewing new ideas and styles. But for Yasunobu, at the head of a vast painting organization, emphasizing training in his treatise seemed a safe, traditional means of ensuring the continued employment of Kano artists through the careful management of painting quality.

## CONCLUSION

In 1600, the Kano family comprised a main house headed by Mitsunobu, three hereditary branches formed by two of Shōei's sons, Sōshū (with his son Jinnojō) and Naganobu, and Eitoku's second son Takanobu, as well as two collateral branches founded by outstanding students of Eitoku and Shōei—Sanraku and Naizen Ichio, respectively. At this date, all of these artists and their pupils lived in Kyoto, and most of their work was in the Kinai area.

By 1621, the main house, now headed by Mitsunobu's son Sadanobu, and Sanraku's branch line still remained in Kyoto. Working with them were Jinnojō and a number of Mitsunobu's pupils. By this time, however, several Kano workshops had been established in Edo, and a growing number of artists worked there for the Tokugawa bakufu. In general, these new workshops were collateral branches founded by high-ranking hereditary members of the family, such as Naganobu and Tan'yū.

The designations *oku eshi* and *omote eshi* came into use in Japan around the middle of the seventeenth century. By this time, the number of *oku eshi* had grown to three, and all were located in Edo. Sadanobu had died and his heir Yasunobu, along with another brother Naonobu, had joined Tan'yū in Edo. Each of the three brothers became head of an *oku eshi* workshop. In addition, three *omote eshi* were established in the Kantō, while one remained in Kyoto. The *omote eshi* workshops in Edo were Naganobu's Okachimachi branch, the Surugadai 駿河台, established by Tan'yū's son-in-law and pupil Tōun (Dōun 洞雲; 1625–94), and the Azabu Ippon Matsu 麻布一本松, founded by Naganobu's son Kyūen 休円 (1622–98). Sanraku's son Sansetsu (1589–1651) and his heir Einō (1631–97)

remained in Kyoto. Mitsunobu's older students were now dead, and Sanraku's heirs were designated as the Kyo(to) Kano *omote eshi*, with Sanraku recognized as the founder. In the latter years of the century, one additional *oku eshi* workshop was created,<sup>72</sup> as were several other *omote eshi*.<sup>73</sup>

Thus, by mid-century, all Kano artists, with the exception of the Kyo Kano, were living in the Kantō and working for the Tokugawa or other daimyo. By 1650, the main house had realigned behind Tan'yū, and even its titular head, Yasunobu, worked under his older brother. Tan'yū wielded tremendous power, directing all major projects for the Tokugawa bakufu and, within those projects, appropriating the important painting jobs for himself.

Upon Tan'yū's death in 1674, however, the future of the Kano house devolved upon Yasunobu. By this date, the family had greatly expanded and was forced to consider organizational guidelines to maintain quality control over the artistic production of its numerous branches. Yasunobu's concern was to ensure that the larger academy persisted. His greatest fear was that Tan'yū's death would create a vacuum fatal to the organization. Therefore, he wrote the *Gadō yōketsu*, aided by hefty borrowings from Chinese painting theory, with two purposes in mind: (1) the text would serve as a general painting guide for those licensed by the Kano family, and (2) it would embed the idea of arduous training into the bedrock of the school. Both goals were well accomplished.

The first two centuries of Kano history saw the workshop develop from a single family unit into a large institution with numerous branch families, as it simultaneously moved from the personal endeavor of a single artist to an upscale business that managed and oversaw a multitude of painters. Throughout its development, the workshop followed certain rules of hierarchy and status—that same core of rules that had governed medieval guilds—while also creating exceptions and alterations that ultimately enabled its survival. It may be this same amazing mixture of rigid structure and flexible solutions that even today stands at the center of many of Japan's businesses, enabling them to adapt and survive in our modern world, as did the painting atelier of the Kano in their Edo world. □



## APPENDIX

## *An Examination of Records: Painting Commissions as Determinants of Hierarchy in the Early Seventeenth-Century Kano House*

NOTATIONS ON building commissions in historical records provide evidence not only of which artists participated but also of their relative positions within the Kano family at the time the work was commissioned. Throughout, the artists at the top of the pyramid are noted first, followed by those of lesser status in descending order, with the higher-ranking artists decorating the more prestigious rooms.<sup>74</sup>

Tan'yū participated in his first major large-scale commission for the Tokugawa in 1619 (Genna 5) at the age of seventeen. In this year, Shogun Hide-tada's 徳川 秀忠 daughter Masako (alt. Kazuko 和子; Tōfukumon'in 東福門院; 1607–78) entered the court as the wife of Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾天皇 (1596–1680; r. 1611–29).<sup>75</sup> The Nyōgo Gosho 女御御所, where she would reside at the Imperial Palace, was specially decorated with magnificent sliding doors and wall panels for the grand event. The decoration of this special palace provides important information about the nature of the hierarchy within the Kano family at this date.

First and foremost, the head of the main Kano house was considered the highest-ranking artist. At this time, 1619, that artist was Kano Sadanobu (1597–1623), as the only son of Kano Mitsunobu (1561–1608), eldest son and direct heir of Kano Eitoku. Sadanobu was the seventh head of the Kano house descending from Motonobu. Only twenty-two years old at this time, Sadanobu is said to have painted the important Upper Chamber (*jōdan no ma* 上段の間)<sup>76</sup> of the Great Audience Hall (Taimenjo 対面所). Jinnojō (n.d.), son of Eitoku's younger brother Sōshū (1551–1601), painted the Adjoining Upper Chamber (*jōdan tsugi no ma* 上段次の間),<sup>77</sup> and Uneme 采女 (Tan'yū) decorated the Third Upper Chamber (*jōdan san no ma* 上段三の間). Kōi (?–1636), a talented pupil of Mit-

sunobu, painted the Court Nobles' Chamber (*kugyō no ma* 公卿の間),<sup>78</sup> and Sahei 左兵衛 (n.d.),<sup>79</sup> another lesser-known pupil connected to Mitsunobu, painted the Adjoining Court Nobles' Chamber (*kugyō tsugi no ma* 公卿次の間).<sup>80</sup>

Although Jinnojō, as the son of Eitoku's bother Sōshū, was older than Sadanobu, he is not listed first and did not paint the most important room at this project because he was not head of the main Kano house. Tan'yū, as the eldest son of Takanobu, was awarded the third most important room. The remaining rooms, in order of importance, were painted by pupils who had worked under Mitsunobu. With the exception of Tan'yū, all of the artists who worked at the Nyōgo Gosho were directly connected to Mitsunobu.

The next document related to the Kano atelier is a special pledge signed in 1623 (Genna 9), ninth month, nineteenth day, the day prior to Sadanobu's demise. The record named Genshirō 源四郎 (Yasunobu) to succeed Sadanobu and was signed by the ranking members of the Kano painting family—Kyūhaku 休伯 (Naganobu), Uneme (Tan'yū), Jinnojō, Naonobu, Shin'emon 新右衛門, Hayato 隼人, and Kōi.<sup>81</sup> The order in which this pledge was signed is generally thought to represent the order of rank within the Kano house at this date. The pledge formally recognized the shift from Mitsunobu's line to Takanobu's, representing the first stage of a new alignment within the school. Therefore, Tan'yū, age twenty-one, was now second behind Naganobu and before Jinnojō, indicating that, just four years after the 1619 Nyōgo Gosho project, he had superseded the older, Mitsunobu-connected artist. Takanobu's line had, with the installation of Yasunobu, officially supplanted Mitsunobu's. Within a few years, the alignment shifted again, this time within the line, from Yasunobu to Tan'yū.

The expansion and reconstruction of Osaka Castle 大阪城 was undertaken between 1620 and 1629.<sup>82</sup> In the first year of the Kan'ei era (1624), the interior walls were in place, and Kano artists were called to decorate them.<sup>83</sup> This particular project seems to have been overseen by Kano Sanraku, with support by Naonobu and Tan'yū.<sup>84</sup> The names of the artists and their order in the document are unexpected and clearly run counter to the rules of hierarchy just discussed. Nonetheless, the document cannot be ignored, and the unconventional data must be considered. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Sanraku had been almost exclusively employed by the Toyotomi.<sup>85</sup> Osaka Castle had originally been built by Hideyoshi between 1583 and 1586, and Sanraku probably assisted Eitoku with its original decoration.<sup>86</sup> Since the Tokugawa did not seem to favor Sanraku in other projects,<sup>87</sup> it is possible that he was put in charge at Osaka to emphasize that the Toyotomi had been displaced. What better way to underscore this fact than to make Sanraku face the past by recreating the present, now for the Tokugawa, at Osaka Castle? Furthermore, although Sanraku's name is listed first, indicating that he directed the project, Naonobu actually decorated the most important rooms.<sup>88</sup>

This in no way, however, explains the illogical juxtaposition of the second brother Naonobu and Tan'yū.<sup>89</sup> Is this a recording error or a fiction? There is no way to determine, on the basis of style, whether Naonobu painted the higher-ranking rooms and buildings attributed to him in documents because the paintings from Osaka Castle no longer exist. Kōno Motoaki suggested that the award of higher-ranking buildings to Naonobu may be related to a story that he was rewarded for service when Iemitsu 家光 made his trip to Kyoto in 1623 (Genna 9), but Kōno does not specify where this story originates nor what sort of service was performed.<sup>90</sup> It may also be that Tan'yū, busy coordinating the many rooms at Nijō Castle 二條城 and managing other more important projects for the Tokugawa during this same period, had little time to work in Osaka and left much of it to Naonobu. At any rate, this anomalous ranking of artists is never again repeated.

Between 1624 and 1626, a Visitation Palace (Gyōkō Goshō 行幸御所) was built and the Ninomaru Palace 二の丸御所 reconstructed at Nijō Castle in Kyoto for a rare visit by Emperor Gomizunoo. The Visitation Palace no longer exists, but *Nijō oshiro gyōkō no goten on-e tsuke osashi zu* 二條御城行幸之御殿御絵付御指図 (Instructions on Nijō Castle's Imperial Visitation Palace paintings) lists the rooms and the artists who painted them.<sup>91</sup> Tan'yū headed the list, followed by Naganobu, Jinnojō, then Tan'yū's two brothers Naonobu and Yasunobu. Yasunobu was still very young and, therefore, despite his higher position as head of the house, was given little responsibility at Nijō.

*Nijō oshiro osashi zu* 二條御城御指図 (Instructions on Nijō Castle)<sup>92</sup> indicates that Tan'yū also headed the decoration of the Ninomaru Palace, followed by Naonobu and Kōi, a relatively unknown artist Dōmi 道味,<sup>93</sup> and Jinnojō. But there are several problems with this particular source. One is that the names of the artists are given on slips of paper added around 1788, almost 150 years after the project was completed. Another is the fact that the artist Dōmi is listed ahead of Jinnojō. It is also curious that Naganobu's name does not appear in this document, although he worked on the Visitation Palace just next door. The high position of Kōi is also suspect. Although he was considered an outstanding pupil of Mitsunobu and an elder member of the clan, he was not a blood relative and therefore, according to strict rules of hierarchy, should not have ranked above Jinnojō.

Matsuki Hiroshi has brilliantly resolved these discrepancies using the hierarchy formula so diligently followed by the Kano house, whereby the rank of an artist was correlated with the rank of the structure within the complex; he then verified his results through stylistic analysis.<sup>94</sup> Matsuki believes that the proper order by rank at the Ninomaru Palace should be Tan'yū, Naonobu, Naganobu, Jinnojō. His argument is convincing because the paintings still exist, thereby providing sufficient historical and stylistic data to back it up. In this instance the document can be proven incorrect.

Matsuki's proposed realignment of artists and buildings based on traditional correlations of highest-



ranking artist with most important building further supports the supposition that by this date Tan'yū, along with his second brother Naonobu, had risen to the top of the Kano hierarchy, surpassing older members like Naganobu and Jinnojō. At this time the two elder sons of Takanobu may still have been working on behalf of their younger brother Yasunobu, with the intent of keeping the reins of control within the immediate family until Yasunobu could mature. In support of this argument, it is significant that Yasunobu was given one token room to paint, the very small but prestigious *chōdai no ma* 帳台の間 in the Visitation Palace. This compromise of a small but significant room satisfied his position as head of the main family as well as his youth and inexperience. It is also likely that Yasunobu's work was carefully supervised and assisted as needed by his brothers. Again, because the paintings from the Visitation Palace no longer exist, we cannot evaluate the artistic quality of his contribution. Yasunobu was not, however, given any work at the Ninomaru Palace.

Already, in the five or so years since Tan'yū's first participation in Kano painting projects, it is clear that the younger artists were beginning to surpass the older members in status. By the mid-1620s, among the top artists, Jinnojō and Naonobu were still living in Kyoto, but only Jinnojō was connected to the Mitsunobu faction. Naonobu had succeeded to his father's line and was already beginning to paint alongside his talented older brother Tan'yū as one of the top-ranking artists of his day.

In 1633, the retired second shogun Hidetada died and was interred in the Taitokuin mausoleum at Zōjōji 増上寺 in Edo. The Kano family was requested to decorate the main hall of the mausoleum (*reibyō* 霊廟). According to an inscription engraved on the underside of the stone steps of the mausoleum's main building,<sup>95</sup> for the first time Yasunobu headed the list, followed by Naganobu, Tan'yū, Naonobu, Mokkonosuke 奎之助,<sup>96</sup> Genshun 元俊,<sup>97</sup> and Kōi.

For this project, Jinnojō's name is notably absent, and two other artists, Mokkonosuke and Genshun, have joined the ranks. By this date, Naonobu had moved to Edo (1630) and started his

own collateral branch, the Kobikichō. Yasunobu, now twenty, and Mitsunobu's heir by virtue of his elected position as head of the main Kano family, is listed first in the document. This apparently was Yasunobu's chance to prove himself artistically. Yet in the years that followed he did not head another commission, suggesting that his work on the Taitokuin project failed to live up to the expectations of his Tokugawa patrons.

In the following year, Nagoya Castle's 名古屋城 Honmaru 本丸 was refurbished, and three new buildings were added for Shogun Iemitsu's use on his journeys from Edo to Kyoto. The *Jiseki roku* 事蹟録 (Record of evidence; Tokugawa Reimeikai Collection, Nagoya) says that Tan'yū headed the decoration of this project and painted all of the sliding door panels in the *jōrakuden* 上洛殿 (also called the *onarishoin* 御成書院), built as a visitation palace for the third shogun.<sup>98</sup> There is little doubt that Tan'yū indeed painted this palace; the artists who worked in the other two buildings are more problematic but are of little importance to our discussion.<sup>99</sup> Clearly Tan'yū's expertise was required here, and no other's would suffice. Yasunobu was not included, not even nominally.

Two years later, in 1636, the mausoleum at Nikkō Tōshōgū 日光東照宮 was redesigned by Shogun Iemitsu to honor his grandfather and founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, Ieyasu. Kano family members were called upon to decorate this glorious monument. Tan'yū was head painter; working under him were his brothers Naonobu and Yasunobu and the elderly, yet still active, Naganobu. Three other new painters listed on this project, Ya'emon 弥右衛門,<sup>100</sup> Ri'emon 理右衛門,<sup>101</sup> and Kuranojō 蔵之丞,<sup>102</sup> were pupils studying in Kano workshops in Edo or working for daimyo in the provinces. Notably, Kyoto-based artists were no longer major players in the Kano system.

These three examples from the 1630s, Taitokuin, Nagoya Castle, and Nikkō, make it apparent that in spite of Yasunobu's official position as titular head of the main house, Tan'yū was the actual leader of the Kano family. By 1636 Yasunobu was twenty-three and fully capable of directing projects; Sadanobu had been just twenty-two when he

headed the Nyōgo Palace project, and Tan'yū twenty-four when he produced the superlative paintings at Nijō Castle. But after Taitokuin in 1633, Yasunobu's name is not listed ahead of Tan'yū's again. We can only assume that his work there was unimpressive and that thereafter he assisted Tan'yū. Various contemporary sources seem to support this negative evaluation of Yasunobu's painting. *Shōun hikki*, among others, states that, "Among the three [brothers], Eishin [Yasunobu] was greatly inferior."<sup>103</sup>

Although Yasunobu was named titular head of the main house in 1623, the situation by 1636 was far removed from those earlier days. By the latter date, it is almost certain that Yasunobu had moved to Edo. He maintained his titular position as head of the traditional main family, which became the Nakabashi *oku eshi* in Edo, but it was Tan'yū who commanded the respect of the Tokugawa. It became apparent at Taitokuin that Yasunobu did not possess sufficient artistic verve to lead the family. The year 1636 found Takanobu's three sons, under Tan'yū's leadership, working in Edo as personal painters to the Tokugawa shogunate, along with Naganobu, eldest surviving brother of Eitoku and founder of the Okachimachi collateral branch.

Naganobu's continued inclusion among the top artists at important projects indicates that the older artist perhaps served as a mentor to Tan'yū and as a political ally within the system, supporting Tan'yū much as Jinnojō had assisted Sadanobu. By allying himself early on with the Tokugawa, Naganobu had paved the way for Tan'yū and his brothers. By 1636, Kano artists remaining in Kyoto were far outnumbered by those studying in Edo under the tutelage of Naganobu, Tan'yū, and his two brothers.

The 1642 repainting of the Seiryōden 清涼殿 of the Imperial Palace in Kyoto caps this discussion by clearly proving the hegemony of the three brothers. According to *Kinchū goten e tsuke no chō* 禁中御殿絵付之帳 (Record of paintings in the Imperial Palace), the entire project was completed by Tan'yū, Naonobu, and Yasunobu.<sup>104</sup> The Kyoto atelier of painters who followed Sanraku had fallen so far out of favor or was so lacking in major talent that the three painters from Edo were called upon to

travel to Kyoto to do the work. The 1642 Seiryōden project was completely dominated by Tan'yū's family except for one veranda that was painted by another artist, Sanzaburō 山三郎, and even he was essentially part of Tan'yū's family.<sup>105</sup> For the first time Naganobu's name was not included. By this date he would have been sixty-five. Although he lived another twelve years, Naganobu was of retirement age and possibly not in good enough health to have made the long journey from Edo to Kyoto. By this date, Tan'yū had become the singular head of this large organization, and thereafter most artists working on major Tokugawa-sponsored commissions would be his relatives and pupils.

Probably the most important painting project of the 1640s was Edo Castle. Construction on this edifice continued for decades, and parts of the castle often fell to fires and had to be rebuilt. Tan'yū, however, was the major painter at the castle throughout his lifetime. In 1647 he painted both Formal Audience Halls (*Ōhiroma* 大広間) in the Honmaru and in the Kuroshoin 黒書院 of the Nishinomaru 西の丸.<sup>106</sup> According to the *Onzashiki no ma eshi oboe* 御座敷之間絵師覚 (Painter's recollections of rooms),<sup>107</sup> dated 1659, when the Honmaru of Edo Castle was rebuilt after the Meireki 明暦 fire of 1657, Tan'yū painted the rooms of the Formal Audience Hall and eleven cedar doors connected to this room. Yasunobu painted the rooms of the Shiroshoin 白書院 and all cedar doors adjoining it, and Tsunenobu 常信 (1636–1713), Naonobu's son, painted the *jōdan no ma* of the Tōzamurai 遠侍 and all the cedar doors in the building.<sup>108</sup> Although these projects take us into the latter part of the century, it is apparent that the Edo Kano were firmly entrenched as shogunal painters and that their heirs and pupils continued in their footsteps. Tan'yū's immense talent and close ties with the rulers of Japan easily overshadowed the fact that he was not really head of the main Kano house, and these two advantages were powerful enough that throughout his life he continued to receive plum painting commissions over his brother Yasunobu. This was one important reason why Yasunobu was so concerned about the future of the Kano house when Tan'yū died and his great talent began to be missed.



## Notes

A version of this article will also appear as a chapter in *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets*, ed. Brenda G. Jordan and Victoria Weston (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming). I would like to thank the editors of the volume for their helpful suggestions and careful editing of this manuscript.

In this article I follow the lead of Carolyn Wheelwright and read the family name as Kano rather than Kanō, as remains conventional in Japan. See Wheelwright, "Kano Painters of the Sixteenth Century A.D.: The Development of Motonobu's Daisen-in Style," *Archives of Asian Art* 34 (1981): 6–31, at 18, n. 1.

1. Although generally the Kano are referred to as a *school* in English, *family* or *house* are more appropriate terms for this organization early in its development. In Western art history, paintings that can be visually grouped by style, locale, or master may be referred to as being associated with a particular "school." Yet in Japan the rules governing associations are unique. The Kano, like other artisan groups, were a hereditary house (*ie* 家), with the main family (*sōke*) directing subordinate branch lines. The leadership of the main family was generally continued through the eldest son from generation to generation, with branch lines formed by additional sons. When no son or near relative was available to succeed, the master's most talented or favored pupil was adopted into the family and permitted to assume the family name. This pyramidal organization, controlled by the head of the main family, provided the governing system for Kano painters. See also Catherine Kaputa's "Introduction: Japanese Schools of Painting," in Takeda Tsuneo, *Kano Eitoku*, translated and adapted by H. Mack Horton and Catherine Kaputa (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha, 1977), 11–18; also Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 58–59.

2. An examination of early seventeenth-century Kano painting commissions is used to determine how workshop hierarchy evolved. See the appendix.

3. Ancient sources like the ninth-century *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録, a record of the reigns of emperors Seiwa 清和天皇, Yōzei 陽成天皇, and Kōkō 光孝天皇 covering the years 858–887, and the tenth-century *Saikyūki* 西宮記, writings on the rituals and ancient customs of the Heian period, affirm the early existence of a court-sponsored *edokoro*. See *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* in *Shintei zōhō: Kokushi taikēi*, 66 vols., comp. Kuroita Katsumi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–64), vol. 4, and *Saikyūki*, comp. Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–983), in *Shintei zōhō: Kojitsu sōsho*, 38 vols., ed. Kawabata Sanehide (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1951–57), vols. 6–7.

4. See also Morisue Yoshiaki, *Chūsei no shaji to geijutsu* (Tokyo: Unebi Shobō, 1941).

5. Takeda, *Kano Eitoku*, 13.

6. For the information on the sixteenth-century Kano workshop I am indebted to the research of Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Workshop Management of the Early Kano Painters, ca. A.D. 1530–1600," *Archives of Asian Art* 34 (1981): 32–47.

7. Masanobu's father, Kagenobu 景信 (fl. 1435), was also a warrior and painter who lived in the village of Kano and served the Imagawa 今川 clan in Izu province 伊豆国. The family name is taken from the name of the village. Takeda, *Kano Eitoku*, 12.

8. This information is based on a petition to the Ashikaga government on behalf of a fanmakers' guild; one of the cosigners of the petition was Kano Ōnosuke Motonobu 狩野大炊介元信. The petition is reproduced in *Zōtei: Koga bikō* 増訂古画備考, ed. Asaoka Kōtei, enlarged and rev. Ōta Kin (Tokyo: Kōbunkan, 1904), chap. 36, 1598–99. See also Shimizu, "Workshop Management," 33.

9. Shimizu, "Workshop Management," 36–37.

10. *Koga bikō* states that Motonobu had two younger brothers, Yukinobu 介之信, who died at age thirty-nine, and Kunitatsu 国松, who died at age twenty: chap. 36, 1582. *Honchō gashi* mentions only that Yukinobu was Masanobu's second son and Kunitatsu his youngest child; Kano Einō, comp., *Honchō gashi* (Japanese painting history), 1693, in *Yakuchū Honchō gashi*, ed. Kasai Masaaki, Suzuki Susumu, and Takei Akio (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1985), 328–30. Both *Honchō gashi* (332–36) and *Koga bikō* (chap. 36, 1582–83), as well as other sources, offer information on Motonobu's brothers, sons, and pupils. Yet birth and death dates are often not given, and some information is conflicting.

11. Shimizu, "Workshop Management," 37.

12. Both Wheelwright ("Kano Painters," 6) and Shimizu ("Workshop Management," 40) discuss the development of what they term "type-styles."

13. Motonobu is said to have classified his paintings according to three styles of Chinese calligraphy: *shintai* 真体, formal or angular brushwork; *gyōtai* 行体, semiformal or semicursive; and *sōtai* 草体, informal or cursive brushwork. Examples of all three brush styles can be found in the twelve hanging panels (originally *fusuma* 襖) belonging to Reibun-in, Myōshinji 靈雲院、妙心寺, produced by Motonobu and his associates.

14. Shimizu ("Workshop Management," 41) believes that Eitoku's style of monumental forms and his emphasis on foreground elements may have made his work better suited to the vast rooms of castles than Shōei's more orthodox style.

15. The differences between Shōei's and Eitoku's are readily apparent through visual comparisons. See Shimizu, "Workshop Management," 40.

16. Shimizu, "Workshop Management," 38.

17. The bakufu building program in the first half of the seventeenth century was, at least in part, a form of political control designed to impoverish and thereby weaken the daimyo. In the first two decades alone, the government ordered certain daimyo to provide materials, labor, and money for the construction of Nijō Castle in Kyoto in 1602, Hikone Castle 彦根城 in 1604, Sunpu Castle 駿府城 in 1606, Nagoya and Sasayama 篠山 castles in 1609, Kameyama Castle 亀山城 in 1610, and Takada Castle 高田城 in 1614. They also undertook the enlargement of Edo Castle throughout the first half of the century and repairs to former Toyotomi edifices such as Fushimi 伏見 and Osaka castles. Harold Bolitho, *Treasures among Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 11–12.

18. Although a system for training artists in order to carry out large painting projects was initially established under Kano Motonobu (1476–1559) in the sixteenth century, it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that significant expansion and school-like organization occurred. While Kano genealogies list only seven artists working under the leadership of Motonobu, in the second half of the seventeenth century these numbers had expanded to four "inner" (*oku* 奥) Kano houses and twelve "outer" (*omote* 表) Kano branches. The four *oku* houses alone had about twenty notable students (plus a number who probably were not important enough to be noted in the official genealogies), and there were many more students in the *omote* branches. For these figures I have used the Kano genealogies in *Kanoha no kaiga* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1979), 217–22, and in Hosono Masanobu, *Edo no Kanoha: Nihon no bijutsu* 262 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1988), 85–89.

19. In fact, hierarchy is easy to determine in Japan because the pecking order is so well defined. Age, for example, generally designates position within a family, and rank or position signifies importance and prestige in society. Gender is also a factor within the family hierarchy, with males holding higher positions, reflecting ancient Confucian-based precepts.

20. See, for example, Carolyn Wheelwright's reconstruction of Kano Eitoku's paintings for shogun Oda Nobunaga's 織田信長 (1534–82) Azuchi Castle 安土城 in "A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle," in *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1981), 87–111.

21. Among the most prominent of these Tokugawa-sponsored projects were: (1) 1619, renovation of the Nyōgo Goshō of the Kyoto Imperial Palace for Shogun Hidetada's daughter Masako's (Kazuko) entry into the court as Emperor Gomizunoo's imperial consort; (2) 1623, repair and repainting of Osaka Castle; (3) 1624–26, complete refurbishing of Nijō Castle in Kyoto for a visit by Emperor Gomizunoo; (4) 1625, beginning of construction on Kan'eiji 寛永寺, an important Tokugawa fam-

ily temple, in Edo; (5) 1633, rebuilding of Taitokuin of Zōzōji in Edo as a mausoleum for Tokugawa Hidetada; (6) 1634, expansion of Nagoya Castle, first built in 1614 as a residence for Ieyasu's son Yoshinao 義直, as a visitation palace for Shogun Iemitsu; (7) 1636, glorious renovation of Nikkō Tōshōgū, the great memorial built in 1617 to house Ieyasu's remains. Kano artists participated in the decoration of all of the above. In addition, the Tokugawa made repairs as needed on buildings of the Imperial Palace and Edo Castle throughout the first half of the century, and Kano artists dominated these projects as well.

22. Although funds for construction and refurbishing were also deducted from Tokugawa coffers, it was primarily the daimyo who bore the cost of Tokugawa building projects, as discussed in Bolitho, *Treasures among Men*, 11–12. For a description of cost and labor requirements in the reconstruction of one such project, Osaka Castle, see William B. Hauser, "Osaka Castle and Tokugawa Authority in Western Japan," in *The Bakufu in Japanese History*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass and William Hauser (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 153–72.

23. For an analysis of officially sponsored art by the early Tokugawa shoguns, see Karen M. Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

24. Other artists did receive grants of land from the Tokugawa, but they were not for studios in Edo. For example, in 1615, Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦 received a tract of land on the northern outskirts of Kyoto from Tokugawa Ieyasu. But it has been suggested that the grant was made to move Kōetsu, a Hokke 法華 sympathizer, outside of Kyoto; it certainly was not made to enlist Kōetsu to work for the shogun. See Hiroshi Mizuo, *Edo Painting: Sōtatsu and Kōrin* (New York: Weatherhill, 1972), 50, 65–69.

25. Naganobu is not mentioned in *Honchō gashi*. Kano Genshi-chirō 源七郎, one of Naganobu's alternate names, is listed, but since the text does not mention birth or death dates for this individual, it is unlikely that the entry refers to Naganobu, whose dates are commonly known: *Yakuchū Honchō gashi*, 342.

26. Kano Shōei (1519–92) is the youngest son of Motonobu (1476–1559). He succeeded as head of the main Kano house after his older brothers Yūsetsu (1514–62) and Jōshin (n.d.) died earlier in the century. Hideyori 秀頼 (d. 1547), who is sometimes listed as a son of Motonobu, is now believed to be his grandson.

27. Takeda suggests an even earlier date, saying that Naganobu worked for Ieyasu first at Sunpu Castle, then moved to Edo in 1605: Takeda Tsuneo, *Nagoyajō honmaru goten shōhekiga shū* (Tokyo: Benridō, 1990), 239.

28. Later in the century, however, other artists, notably those of the Sumiyoshi 住吉 school were also appointed *goyō eshi*.



29. The groundwork for Tan'yū's move was probably completed as early as 1612, when Takanobu took him to Sunpu (Shizuoka City) for an important audience with Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), who was then living there in “active” retirement at his castle. Tan'yū's visit is recorded in *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記 (first month, Keichō 慶長 17 [1612]), comp. Narushima Motonau, vols. 38–52 of *Shintei zōhō: Kokushi taikei* 38:577.

30. Age is given by Western calculation throughout. Japanese writers say that he was twenty when he moved to Edo because age is counted by the number of calendar years in which one has lived.

31. These facts are recorded in *Kano Tan'en senzoshō* 狩野探淵先祖書 (Writings of Kano Tan'en's ancestors) in Tajima Shichi, *Tōyō bijutsu taikan*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Shinbi Shoin, 1909), 362. *Kano Tan'en senzoshō* was written by Kano Morizane Tan'en 狩野守真探淵 (1805–53), the eighth-generation head of the Kajibashi branch of the Kano. Yet numerous dates have been given for Tan'yū's move to Edo. Kōno Motoaki says that Tan'yū received the land in Genna 7 (1621): “Edo Kano zakkō,” *Kobijutsu* 71 (1984): 4–36, at 22. *Koga bikō* claims that Tan'yū received the title of *goyō eshi* and moved to the area of Edo's Kajibashi in Genna 3 (1617): *Zōtei koga bikō*, chap. 37, 626. Lawrence Roberts, *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists* (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 175, sets the date of the move to Edo in 1614. Most Japanese sources give Genna 7 (1621) as the likely date of his move.

32. The bannermen were a special corps of castle guards attached directly to the shogun. In rank they stood just below the daimyo.

33. Jinnai Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spacial Anthropology*, trans. Kimiko Nishimura (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 44.

34. Traditionally, when an artist founded his own line, it was considered a serious commitment, and he did not later return to take over the family workshop. For example, after both Eitoku and Sōshū died (in 1590 and 1601, respectively), the main house was passed to Sōshū's heir Mitsunobu rather than to Eitoku's and Sōshū's younger brother Naganobu because Naganobu had already established his own workshop. Founding a branch line entailed setting up a studio, training students, and pursuing patrons, efforts that were time-consuming and could not be readily abandoned.

35. *Koga bikō*, chap. 38, 1645.

36. The Kobikichō name supposedly derives from a later date, when the fifth generation head, Eisen Sukenobu 栄川典信 (Eisen'in 栄川院 II) (1730–90), was given a mansion by Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼意次 at Kobikichō in 1777 (An'ei 安永 6): Kōno, “Edo Kano zakkō,” 25. *Koga bikō*, however, only

says that Eisen received land at Takegawachō in An'ei 6: chap. 38, 1649.

37. *Koga bikō*, chap. 36, 1612–13.

38. Additionally, there are relatively unknown Kano artists who began to work in Edo for the Tokugawa in the early decades of the century. These artists are not mentioned in the main text of this article because some of their data are difficult to confirm. Among them are Ryōshō 了承 (Ryōjō 了乗) (1539–1617), a grandson of Kano Hideyori (d. 1557). Like Naganobu, Ryōshō apparently agreed to work for the Tokugawa in Edo during the formative years of their hegemony. Eventually his descendants were rewarded with land near Ueno and became the Yamashita 山下 branch of *omote eshi*. Sōha 宗巴 (active late sixteenth century), a lesser-known son of Shōei, also worked in Edo for the Tokugawa bakufu early in the century, founding the Kanda Matsunagachō 神田松永町 *omote eshi* branch. Sōshin 宗心 (1568–1620), a pupil of Shōei, worked for the bakufu as an *omote eshi* at Tsukiji Odawarachō 築地小田原町 in Edo. Another pupil and adopted son of Shōei, Soyū 祖酉 (1556–1617), had served Hideyoshi in the Kinai (Kyoto-Osaka area) but moved to Edo to serve the Tokugawa as an *omote eshi*, founding the Saruyamachi 猿屋町 branch. All of these artists, very early in the century, switched their allegiance to the Tokugawa by willingly moving their workshops to Edo and accepting titles and land. None was in a position of importance to the main house: Ryōshō and Sōha were lesser hereditary members, Soyū was an adopted son of Shōei, and Sōshin was Shōei's pupil.

39. Ikkei's father Ichio (1570–1616) had studied with Kano Shōei and painted in Kyoto for Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Ikkei, however, switched his allegiance immediately, accepting work with the Tokugawa along with the title *goyō eshi*. He moved to Odawara to serve Tokugawa daimyo in that area, probably in the late 1620s. The fact that Ikkei was not a hereditary member of the family probably precluded his receiving land and work in the capital itself. His father Ichio, however, is generally considered the founder of the Negishi Ogyōnomatsu 根岸御行松 branch of *omote eshi*.

40. Sanraku, a very talented pupil of Eitoku and one hand-picked by Hideyoshi for artistic greatness, might have had more influence had he not been so closely associated with the Toyotomi early in his career. This transgression was forgiven but apparently not forgotten by the Tokugawa. His other fault was that he was not a blood relative of the family. Sanraku was not invited to Edo, and he and his adopted son and pupil Sansetsu did not, as a rule, participate with Edo Kano artists in Tokugawa-sponsored projects, although they continued to paint in the Kyoto area for wealthy and important patrons.

41. For details, see the appendix.

42. At least three Japanese art historians have explored this

problem using contemporary documents, yet none of them cites the others. Therefore, on the basis of publication dates, I assume that Sakakibara is responsible for this methodology: Sakakibara Satoru, "Edo shoki Kanoha o meguru mondai: *Honchō gashi* to kanren shite," *Museum* 343 (October 1979): 14–25; Kōno Motoaki, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kaneidō zōei gōten," *Studies in Art History [Bijutsushi ronsō]* 2 (1985): 91–116; and Matsuki Hiroshi, "Kanoke no chi to chikara: Nagoyajō shōheki o chūshin ni," *Kobijutsu* 80 (October 1986): 92–104.

43. In general, education and the production of written materials are recognized hallmarks of the Edo period, often fostered by the Tokugawa government itself. As early as 1615, with the creation of the *Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度 (Laws for military households), the bakufu urged the military class to cultivate both civil and military arts, exhorting them, "On the left hand literature, on the right hand use of arms. . . . Both must be pursued concurrently." Study and learning were ways to keep the samurai involved in peaceful activities and to encourage them to develop self-discipline—enterprises that the government deemed favorable to their own plans for social control. In 1630, Tokugawa Hidetada enabled Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 to establish a school in Shinobugaoka 忍ヶ岡 in Edo, with the ulterior motive that Razan would train students and write and publish in aid of Tokugawa legitimizing efforts. Daimyo in the provinces followed suit by opening schools in their domains. And in Kyoto, Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 (1621–98) founded a school dedicated to Neo-Confucian study, as did Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1618–82) in 1655 and Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705) a few years later. Mid-century saw a rapid increase in the numbers of woodblock books printed on subjects varying widely from scholarly Neo-Confucian texts to travel diaries. For further discussion on publication in the Edo period, see Katsuhisa Moriya, "Urban Networks and Information Networks," in *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*, ed. Chie Nakane and Shinzaburō Ōishi, trans. ed. Conrad Totman (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), 114–23; also Donald H. Shively, "Popular Culture," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Early Modern Japan*, vol. 4, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 715–33.

44. The general consensus among art historians is that *kōso* 後素 cannot be easily translated; see comments by Quitman E. Phillips, "Honchō gashi and the Kano Myth," *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 46–57, at n. 6, and Yoshiaki Shimizu and Carolyn Wheelwright, eds., *Japanese Ink Paintings from American Collections: The Muromachi Period, an Exhibition in Honor of Shūjirō Shimada* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), 223. Yet the original meaning, "to lay on color following preparation of the white ground," comes from a phrase in Confucius's *Analects* that means essentially "to paint"; *Confucius: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean*, trans. James Legge (New York:

Dover Publications, 1971), 157. The word was used again later by early twentieth-century Kyoto Nihonga artists as the name for their new organization, Kōso Kyōkai 後素協会 (Painting Association).

45. Both texts are published in Sakazaki Tan, ed., *Nihon kaigaron taikēi*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Meichō Fukyūkai, 1979), 2:77–205 and 2:336–62. Sakazaki, in his introductory synopsis preceding the text (335), states that it is not known when *Tansei jakuboku shū* was written. But it was published in woodblock form in Kanbun 寛文 2 (1662), the year of Ikkei's death. Translating the title of this text is likewise difficult; see Phillips, "Honchō gashi," n. 7, and Shimizu and Wheelwright, *Japanese Ink Paintings*.

46. *Oku eshi*, literally painters permitted in the private, inner quarters (*oku*) of Edo Castle, had the same general status as physicians who served the shogun and the *hatamoto* (banner-men)—all had the privilege of an audience with the shogun and the hereditary right to wear a sword. *Oku eshi* painted exclusively for the bakufu and received in return a stipend of about 200 *koku* 石, an amount that permitted them to live rather luxuriously by standards of the day. Kobayashi Tadashi, "Akademizumu no kōzai," in *Edo kaiga shiron* (Tokyo: Ryuri Shōbo, 1983), 17–82, at 35.

47. These branch lines were formed by lesser members of the Kano extended lineage or by pupils granted their own lines by the Kano main house. By the end of the Edo period, there were sixteen *omote eshi* branch houses, although one, the Surugadai branch, had many of the privileges of the *oku eshi*. Each *omote eshi* painter was given the title *goyō eshi* and received a yearly stipend equivalent to the allowance for twenty people or less. Unlike the *oku eshi*, their positions were not necessarily hereditary, and they were not permitted to wear a sword. Kobayashi, "Akademizumu no kōzai," 35.

48. The text appears in Sakazaki's *Nihon kaigaron taikēi*, 2:368–430.

49. Einō admitted in the epilogue that his father Sansetsu actually did most of the compilation of the biographies. See *Yakuchū Honchō gashi*, 451–52.

50. For details on how these two editions relate, see Doi Tsuguyoshi, "Honchō gaden ni tsuite," *Kinsei Nihon kaiga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1970), 9–17.

51. This point is also made by Phillips, "Honchō gashi," 54.

52. The genealogical portion of the *Senmon kazoku* 専門家族 section of the *Honchō gashi* suggests a direct link between Kano Sanraku, founder of the Kyo[to] Kano line, and Eitoku. By means of this uncommon interpretation, the author of the text, Kano Einō, also cemented his own connection to Eitoku through his father Sansetsu via Sansetsu's father Sanraku. In



fact, however, Sanraku was not Eitoku's natural son but was adopted by him under pressure from Toyotomi Hideyoshi. When Hideyoshi was killed and it was no longer politically expedient to be associated with the Toyotomi, Sanraku "retired" to a mountain retreat at Otokoyama 男山 outside Kyoto. He was eventually pardoned by the Tokugawa but not, apparently, forgiven. Sanraku's reputation never returned to its former glory as Eitoku's most successful student, and he was seldom included among other Kano artists in the decoration of Tokugawa-sponsored buildings in the first half of the seventeenth century. Much of this basic information appears in numerous sources, but the political machinations of the Kano organization in the seventeenth century are discussed by Sakakibara, "Edo shoki Kanoha"; also Sakakibara Satoru, "Tan'yū no oyabaka: Kanoha soshiki no ichimen," *Kobijutsu* 75 (July 1985): 66–78.

53. Text is published in Sakazaki's *Nihon kaigaron taikēi*, 5:3–23. See also Yasumura Toshinobu, ed., *Teihon: Nihon kaigaron taisei*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1997), 9–110.

54. See Kate Wildman Nakai, "Tokugawa Confucian Historiography: The Hayashi, Early Mito School and Arai Hakuseki," in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Peter Nosco (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 62–91.

55. These comments were related by Kimura (Kano) Tange 木村 (狩野) 探元 (1679–1767) in *Sangyōan zasshi* 三暁庵雑誌 (ca. 1759), in Sakazaki, *Nihon kaigaron taikēi*, 2:212–50, at 246. Tange studied with Tan'yū's eldest son Tanshin 探信 (1653–1718), who was Yasunobu's nephew. The annotations are also excerpted from *Shōun hikki* in *Koga bikō*, chap. 46, 1612. The translation is mine.

56. Since these comments were related by Tange, it is also possible that he incorporated his own prejudices. Tange was, after all, a pupil of Tanshin and was adopted into Tan'yū's line. It was obviously in his best interests to make Tan'yū look good.

57. Kobayashi Tadashi and other scholars generally point to the *Gadō yōketsu* as the source of the Kano school's method of using models for training (*funponshugi* 粉本主義). Kobayashi, "Akademizumu no kōzai," 42–44.

58. Robert Moes, *Rosetsu*, exhibition catalogue (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1973), 31. One scholar who disagrees is Yasumura Toshinobu. He correctly points out that all painting schools and hereditary lineages stressed fixed stylistic unity gained through the use of models: "Funpon to mosha," *Nihon no bigaku* 13 (1989): 25–39.

59. Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 2:119.

60. Fenollosa, *Epochs*, 2:122.

61. Fenollosa, *Epochs*, 2:122.

62. Watanabe Kyūbee was the son of Watanabe Ryōkei (?–1645), who had studied with Mitsunobu.

63. Kano Ukyō Tokinobu (1642–78) was an adopted son of Yasunobu.

64. In Hosono, *Edo no Kanoha*, 55. The translation is mine.

65. All translations of the text are mine.

66. This passage was excerpted from Tang-period Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 "On the Origins of Painting," in *Lidai minghua ji* (Record of famous painters of all dynasties) in Yu Jianhua, ed., *Zhongguo hualun leibian* (Chinese painting theory by categories) 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu, 1957), 1:27–28. For an English translation, see Susan Bush and Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 49–51.

67. For a discussion of Tokugawa historiography and its incorporation of Chinese texts, see Nakai, "Tokugawa Confucian Historiography," 62–91.

68. Shimizu, "Workshop Management," 42.

69. From *Shanshui Chunquan ji* (Chunquan's [harmonious and complete] compilation on landscape) in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Painting*, 161.

70. Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Painting*, 162.

71. For a detailed account of the daily activities and training methods employed by the Kobikichō atelier in the mid-nineteenth century, see Hashimoto Gahō, "Kobikichō edokoro," *Kokka* 3 (December 1889): 15–20.

72. The fourth *oku eshi* branch, the Hamachō Kano 浜町狩野, was founded when Kano Minenobu 狩野岑信 (1662–1708), a grandson of Naonobu, was granted the title *goyō eshi* and a special stipend from the bakufu.

73. Sokuyo 即譽 (active 1716–36) founded an *omote eshi* branch, the Shiba Atagoshita 芝愛宕下, in the early eighteenth century. Sokuyo was the son of Kano Yūeki 狩野友益 (active ca. 1660), third-generation head of the Kanda Matsunaga *omote eshi*. Baiun 梅雲 (1657–1715) established the Shiba Kanasugi Katachō 芝金杉片町 branch in the late seventeenth century. His father was Kano Ujinobu 狩野氏信 (1616–69), third-generation head of the Tsukiji Odawarachō 築地小田原町 *omote eshi* branch. Tōgen (Dōgen 洞元; 1643–1706) started a collateral line of the Saruyamachi, called the Saruyamachi Bunke 猿屋町分家, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. His father was Kano Nobumasa 狩野信政 (1607–58), second-generation head of the Saruyamachi branch.

74. The importance or rank of a room within a building complex is based on function and, to some extent, position. The rooms that serve as audience halls for an emperor or shogun were the most majestic in appearance because they provided the three-dimensional context in which such eminent personages were viewed by others. They were, therefore, the most highly sought after rooms to decorate because the artist was responsible for creating a symbolic aura of magnificence, as well as art that would be viewed by the most important individuals of the country. Although the innermost rooms (those farthest from the entryway), which serve as a private suite for the ruler, were also dignified because only the lord and his intimate family saw them, the public rooms offered more prestige as they were seen by a greater number of high-ranking officials. Inner suites, on the contrary, were experienced by one person of high rank, the shogun or lord, and others close to him—his wife, children, and close servants, who were not necessarily persons of great public import.

75. Needless to say, the Tokugawa took great pride in this happy result of their carefully laid plans to infiltrate the imperial family. Such a plan seems to have been conceived by Ieyasu himself around 1608, just after Masako was born: Ono Shinji, “Bakufu to tennō,” *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, 23 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962–64), vol. 10 (1963), 313–56, at 328–31.

76. This room is where the lord was seated for public audiences. It is called *jōdan* (upper level) because it is generally raised a few inches above the adjoining room as an indication of its high status and importance.

77. Literally the “next room,” or room adjoining the *jōdan no ma*, where the audience awaited the shogun.

78. Written *kukyu* but probably refers to *kugyō*, a room in a shinden 寝殿-style building for use by court nobles (*kugyō* = *kuge*): Fujioka Michio, *Kyōto Goshō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōran Bijutsu Shuppan, 1987), 87; Sakakibara, “Edo shoki Kanoha,” 15.

79. Sahei was Mitsunobu’s pupil Kano Sōan’s 狩野宗庵 oldest son and therefore a grand-pupil (*magō deshi* 孫弟子) of Mitsunobu. He was probably about the same age as Sadanobu.

80. Regrettably, no written record remains, but there is a contemporary drawing of the Nyōgo Gotaimen Goshō 女御御対面御所 with the names of the shogunal administrator (*bugyō* 奉行) and chief foreman on the right side, and at the bottom of the drawing are the names of the artists and the rooms that they painted: Fujioka, *Kyoto Goshō*, 87.

81. The original pledge is photographically reproduced in Tajima Shūichi and Ōmura Seigai, *Tōyō bijutsu taikan* (Tokyo: Shinbi Shoin, 1909), 5:332; see also Akiyama Terukazu, *Nijō rikyū shōhekiga taikan* (Tokyo: Benridō, 1940), 14.

82. Construction on Osaka Castle was begun by Toyotomi

Hideyoshi in 1583. It was the largest castle in Japan, several times larger than Nobunaga’s Azuchi Castle. For more information on the construction of this castle, read Hauser, “Osaka Castle.”

83. There is some discrepancy regarding dates here. Sakakibara (“Edo shoki Kanoha,” 15) indicates that the decoration of Osaka Castle began in the same year as the pledge (1623). Kōno (“Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” 99) gives the date as the first year of Kan’ei (1624). According to William Hauser (“Osaka Castle,” 160), however, the outer walls and base of the central keep were built between 1620 and 1623, but work on the inner walls is given as 1624–26. One would assume then that the decoration of these walls could not have taken place before they were built in 1624. Yet Hauser (169) also notes that there were two shogunal visits in 1623—one by Hidetada in 1623/7/6, just before he passed his office on to Iemitsu, and one by the new shogun a month later in 1623/8/19. It is possible that after these visits the order to decorate was officially given, although actual work may not have begun immediately.

84. Ono Kiyoshi, *Ōsakajō shi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Tsukiji Kappan Seizōsho, 1899), ill. 19 *Tokugawashi no Ōsakajō Honmaru denkan sōzu*; also *Ōsakajō annai no ki* 大阪御城案内之記 in *Koga bikō*, chap. 45, 1989–90.

85. Sanraku’s known projects include the ceiling of the *hōjō* 方丈 of Tōfukuji (1588), paintings at Shitennōji 四天王寺 in Osaka (1600), and *ema* 絵馬 for Toyokuni Shrine 豊国神社 (1614).

86. Sanraku worked with Eitoku around this time on other projects, such as Tōfukuji’s dragon ceiling (1588); *Yakuchū Honchō gashi*, 358. The same text also states (339) that Eitoku worked at Osaka Castle.

87. Sakakibara (“Edo shoki Kanoha,” 25, n. 13) points out that it is possible that Sanraku participated in some Kano projects but did not have his name included officially because of the bakufu’s negative attitude toward him. He mentions, for example, that the present-day Shinden at Daikakuji 大覚寺, purported to be part of Tōfukumon’in’s old Shinden at the imperial palace, and the paintings from the original Nyōgo Goshō are attributed to Sanraku. This theory was first proposed by Fujioka, *Kyoto Goshō*, sections 398–408, and was thoroughly supported more recently by architectural historians Nishi Kazuo and Ozawa Asai in “Daikakuji shinden no bunken shiryō ni yoru ichiku no kakunin to ichiku jiki no tokutei—kenchiku to shōhekiga ni yoru sōgō kentō,” (part 1) and “Daikakuji shinden no konseki to heimen sunpō ni yoru zenshin tatemono no kentō—kenchiku to shōhekiga ni yoru sōgō kentō,” (part 2) in *Nihon kenchiku gakkai taikai gakujiutsu kōen kōgaishū* (Summaries of technical papers of the annual meeting of the Japan Architecture Society), 1998. But recently Kawamoto Shigeo found evidence that the imperial Shinden was not transferred to and



reconstructed at Daikakuji: “Kenkyū shiryō: Daikakuji shinden,” *Kokka* 1246 (1999): 23–31. Thus the debate continues.

88. Generally the Grand Audience Hall (Ōhiroma), the most important building in the castle complex, would be decorated by the head artist. But those rooms in this building were supposedly decorated by Naonobu: *Koga bikō*, chap. 45, 1989.

89. Tan’yū decorated rooms in the lower-ranking dining hall and cedar doors in the Akagane Goten 銅御殿: *Koga bikō*, chap. 45, 1989.

90. Kōno, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” 99.

91. This document was preserved by the Nakai 中井 family of carpenters, who headed the building of the Kan’ei-period Nijō project. It is now kept in the Kyōto Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan (Kyoto University Attached Library). It is reproduced in *Moto rikyū Nijōjō*, ed. Kawakami Mitsugi (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1974), ill. 10, as well as in several other sources.

92. This document is in the possession of the Imperial Household Agency. It is reproduced in Sawashima Eitarō and Yoshinaga Yoshinobu, *Nijōjō* (Tokyo: Sōbo Shobō, 1942), ill. 20.

93. Dōmi was an artist who became a Christian and originally studied in the Tosa school. He became an in-law of Kōi through marriage and then a pupil of the Kano through Kōi. For a more complete discussion of this artist, see *Moto rikyū Nijōjō*, 323–24.

94. Matsuki Hiroshi, “Kano-ke no chi to chikara: Nagoyajō shōhekiga o chūshin ni,” *Kobijutsu* 81 (January 1987): 52–57.

95. The *haiden* 拜殿 and *ishi no ma* 石の間, among other important buildings, were burned during bombings of Tokyo in 1945, but the stone steps with the inscription remain: Tanabe Yasushi, *Tokugawa-ke reibyō* (*Tōa kenchiku senshō* 1) (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1942).

96. Matsuki believes that Mokkonosuke is the same artist as Mokunosuke and that he was an adopted pupil of Shin’emon: “Kano-ke no chi to chikara: Nagoyajō shōhekiga o chūshin ni,” *Kobijutsu* 83 (July 1987): 78–87, at 81.

97. Genshun (1588–1672) was the son of Kano Hideyori and third-generation head of the Yamashita Kano *omote eshi*. This little-known artist has been studied by Tanaka Toshio, “Edo jidai shoki no Kanoha no dōkō,” *Ōsaka geijutsu daigaku kiyō* 12 (November 1989): 5–17.

98. This section of the original *Jiseki roku* is photographically reproduced in Kōno Motoaki, *Kano Tan’yū* (*Nihon no Bijutsu* 194) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1982), 93.

99. In particular, twentieth-century art historians have extensively debated the origins of the *kurokishoin* 黒木書院 and its paintings. For discussions of the various theories, see Matsuki, “Kano-ke no chi to chikara,” 83:80–85; Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru goten*, 255; Kōno, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” *Studies in Art History* 6 (1990): 99–125, at 116–19. Confusion also continues over who decorated the third building, the *oyudonoshoin* 御湯殿書院. See Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru goten*, 254, 258; Kōno, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten,” 105–19.

100. Ya’emon is thought to be Kano Kōi’s eldest son Kōho 興甫 (?–1660), who served the daimyo of Kishū 紀州 (Kii province).

101. Rī’emon is Kōi’s second son Kōya 興也 (?–1672), who served the Mito 水戸 branch of the Tokugawa.

102. Kuranojō is Yamamoto Yūga 山本友我, also called Kano Yūga. According to *Koga bikō* (chap. 41), he was a pupil of Shōei and Naganobu. I have found little information about this artist. But a literatus of the same name is mentioned frequently throughout Hōrin Jōshō’s 鳳林承章 (1593–1668) diary *Kakumeiki* 隔篋記 (The dividing plant record). Narusawa Katsushi’s recent study, “Kinri eshi: Yamamoto Yūga no katusudō,” confirms that the two are the same person. He gives Yūga’s dates as before 1610 to 1669: in *Kan’ei bunka no netto waaku: Kakumeiki no sekai*, ed. supervisor, Reizei Tamehito (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1998), 225–30.

103. *Shōun hikki* in *Koga bikō*, chap. 46, 1612. *Honchō gashi* (350) also says that Yasunobu was inferior to Tan’yū and Naonobu in painting.

104. Document excerpted in Sakakibara, “Edo shoki Kanoha,” 16.

105. Sanzaburō, also called Kano Tōun (Dōun) Masanobu (1625–94), was a pupil and son-in-law of Tan’yū. In 1642, he was only seventeen and his inclusion in such an important commission signifies his close ties to Tan’yū.

106. Kobayashi Jikansai 小林自閑齋, *Kano gokefu* 狩野五家譜 (Genealogy of the five Kano families, 1813), in Sakazaki, *Nihon kaigaron taikēi*, 3:227–45, at 232–34.

107. Reproduced in Matsuki, “Kano-ke no chi to chikara,” *Kobijutsu* 82 (April 1987): 69.

108. Naonobu is not listed here because he died in 1650.

# *Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd*

## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses a small brick tomb near Multān in the Panjāb, which was brought to the attention of scholars just over a decade ago. It offers comparative evidence from eastern Iran to support the suggestion that this was a funerary monument built for a Ghūrid patron in the late twelfth century and discusses the tomb in relation to other extant Ghūrid structures in South Asia. It emphasizes the degree of regional continuity in Ghūrid architecture by highlighting aspects of the building's design that are also present in the pre-Ghūrid Buddhist and Hindu architecture of the Indus Valley but absent in the medieval monuments of eastern Iran or western India. Accounting for the transculturation to which the tomb bears witness, the author draws attention to the mutual receptivity of eastern Iranian and South Asian architecture in the late twelfth century.





FIG. 1.  
*Ribāṭ of ʿAlī b. Karmākh, Kabirwala,  
mihrab interior.*

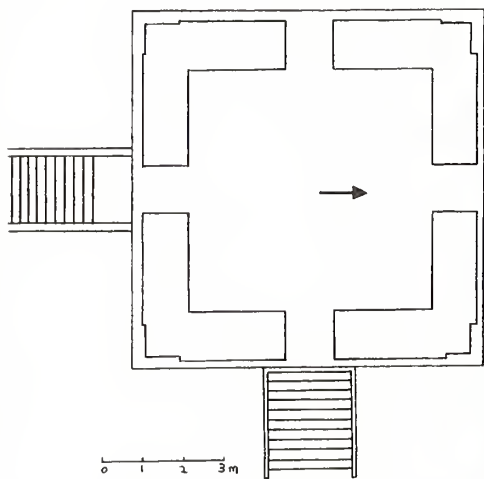


FIG. 3.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, ground plan.*



FIG. 2.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, southern façade.*



FIG. 4.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, interior looking north.*

IN TERMS OF ITS architectural heritage, Pakistan is one of the least celebrated areas of the Muslim world. The reasons for this are several, among them the widespread tendency to see its monuments as peripheral, provincial offshoots of the architectural traditions of Iran and Central Asia on the one hand and northern India on the other. To this may be added the considerable difficulties in establishing a secure chronology for much of the early architecture of the region. While the various pre-Sultanate mosques that have come to light in the Indus Valley provide ample evidence for the use of monumental epigraphy, including historical inscriptions, such finds are few and far between.<sup>1</sup> It is not, however, the mosque that constitutes the most common type of surviving medieval building in the region but the tomb, numerous examples of which provide a focus for popular piety throughout Pakistan. Unusually by comparison with the rest of the Islamic world, there is a consistent dearth of inscriptions in these funerary monuments,<sup>2</sup> with the consequence that the chronology of those that predate the fourteenth century is poorly understood.<sup>3</sup>

In terms of funerary architecture, an inscription in a structure built not for a local ruler but for an eastern Iranian patron provides the sole fixed point in the pre-Tughluqid chronology of the Indus Valley. The monument, popularly known as the tomb of Khālid Walid, is situated in the Panjāb at Kabirwala near Multān, on the eastern bank of the Chināb River. An inscription that framed the mihrab until recently attributed the construction of the building to ‘Alī b. Karmākh, who was appointed as the Ghūrid governor of Multān in 1176 and of Lahore a decade later; it seems reasonable therefore to assign the construction of the building to the last decades of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> The most highly decorated part of the building, that around the mihrab, shows a mixture of elements derived from the indigenous architectural repertoire with those that find their closest parallels in the architectural traditions of neighboring Afghanistan, the Ghūrid homeland (fig. 1). The monument thus bears witness to the hybrid nature of the brick buildings being constructed for Ghūrid patrons in the Multān region in the later twelfth century.

Similar impulses are even more apparent in a second Panjābi tomb, which forms the subject of this paper. The tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shāhid lies 50

kilometers north of Muzaffargarh, on the western bank of the Chināb, one of the tributaries of the Indus, about 15 kilometers across the river from the “tomb of Khālid Walid” as the crow flies. The mausoleum takes the form of a domed square with sides 9 meters long externally constructed from well-fired bricks measuring  $22 \times 16.5 \times 4.5$  centimeters, laid in single courses using mud mortar (figs. 2–3). The structure is set on a high platform standing 2.25 meters above the surrounding ground level; the platform was originally decorated with a series of pedimented niches separated by narrow colonettes, which now survive only on the western part of the south side (figs. 2 and 5). The building is cardinally oriented, with a slight batter and openings on each side, which terminate in a trilobed arch; apart from the remnants of a narrow decorative band, little of the superstructure survives above the level of these openings (figs. 2 and 17). The greatest density of decoration is concentrated in the prominent horizontal moldings that gird the base of the tomb to a height of 1.3 meters above the summit of the platform and rest upon a wide, richly ornamented horizontal frieze (figs. 7, 19, 25–26, 29). On either side of the central openings are ogival or *gavākṣa* niches; both niches and entrances are framed by narrow epigraphic friezes decorated with merlons (figs. 1, 8–9, 17). Each façade is terminated at either end by a wide vertical frieze decorated with axial arrangements of vegetal ornament (fig. 14), with the exception of the east façade, where an elaborate epigraphic band is substituted (figs. 17–18). As is frequently the case in the Panjāb, the north face of the monument is the most weathered and the least well preserved.

The stark contrast between the unadorned simplicity of the interior walls and the richness of the exterior ornament is a characteristic feature of many of the brick tombs in the Indus Valley.<sup>5</sup> That the tomb was originally domed is indicated by the presence of interior squinches, which take the form of projecting arches within which the curved wall surface is supported on a triangular zone of dentilated corbeling (fig. 4). A narrow cenotaph approximately 5 meters in length occupies the center of the tomb, running north-south; a modern plaque affixed to its northern end gives an abbreviated biography of the saint, who is believed to have died around 1275.<sup>6</sup>



The monument has been mentioned in passing in several overviews of medieval Pakistani architecture but has not so far been the subject of an extended study.<sup>7</sup> Although the construction of the tomb has generally been accepted as contemporary with the late thirteenth-century date traditionally given for the death of the saint, in a recent discussion of the building Monique Kervran has argued that the tomb should be dated earlier, attributing its construction to a Ghūrid patron.<sup>8</sup> The detailed analysis presented below bears out these two suggestions and offers further evidence for both. Such analysis is merited not only by the early date of the tomb and the richness of its decoration but by the evidence that it offers for the imbrication of Iranian and Indic architectural styles in Ghūrid South Asia.

The meteoric rise of the Ghūrid dynasty, from vassals of the Ghaznavids in the early twelfth century to overlords of large areas of eastern Iran, Afghanistan, modern Pakistan, and northern India by 1200, marks a watershed in the political and cultural history of the subcontinent. Despite their importance, the surviving architectural relics of the dynasty are, with few exceptions, only summarily published.<sup>9</sup> The present political situation in Afghanistan renders it unlikely that any new studies will be undertaken there in the foreseeable future. Offering new insights into the development of Ghūrid architecture in the regions away from the political heartland of the dynasty, these Panjābī tombs also shed light on the degree and nature of cultural exchange among different ethnic and religious groups in the period immediately following the incorporation of northern India into the *dār al-Islām* in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The degree of transculturation to which they bear witness contrasts with the emphasis on conflict and rupture in the paradigms that have traditionally informed the study of Indo-Ghūrid architecture; this might lead us to question whether such paradigms offer an adequate account of the complex socio-political processes that shaped the monuments of this period.<sup>10</sup> The interpretation of the monument offered here thus has epistemological and methodological implications that resonate beyond the Indus Valley.

Analysis of the building reveals at least three distinct types of elements, which represent related facets of the cultural influences operating in the region

at the time of the tomb's construction: first, elements derived from the architectural traditions of the Indus Valley; second, elements that find their closest parallels not in the surviving Indus Valley monuments but in the architecture of Afghanistan and Central Asia; third, elements that appear to represent a synthesis of these two traditions or a transposition and transformation of one under the influence of the other. I would like to deal with each of these facets in turn before considering the date of the monument and broader aspects of its cultural significance.

#### INDUS VALLEY ANTECEDENTS

Along with the richness of its external decoration, the most striking aspect of Shaykh Sādan's tomb is its elevation on a high square brick platform. The plinth finds parallels both in the Buddhist stupas of Sind—most notably the platform of the stupa at Mirpur-Khās, which has now been destroyed—and among the Hindu temples of the Salt Range, in north-west Pakistan.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the use of blind windows and narrow engaged columns to articulate the exterior of the platform (fig. 5) follows a tradition established in the Buddhist and Hindu architecture of western India.<sup>12</sup> At Bilōṭ in the North-West Frontier Province, for example, two small tenth-century temples share a common platform (*jagati*) decorated with recessed and blind niches of different sizes separated by narrow columns (fig. 6).<sup>13</sup> Just as the elevation of the temple, or stupa, served both as a physical manifestation of its exalted status and to ensure the ritual purity of the sacred space, so the high plinth on which Shaykh Sādan's tomb is placed serves to indicate the venerable status of the individual interred there and to ensure an appropriate separation between the realms of the profane and the sacred. Neither idea is lacking in medieval Islamic precedents: one thinks, for example, of the role of the *ziyādas* surrounding earlier 'Abbāsīd and Ṭūlūnīd mosques in Iraq and Egypt or the elevated position of many Indo-Ghūrid mosques, which are often approached by flights of steps.<sup>14</sup> The concept is therefore a relatively familiar one, even if the form that it takes owes more to regional custom than to Islamic precedent.

The appearance of a complex series of moldings

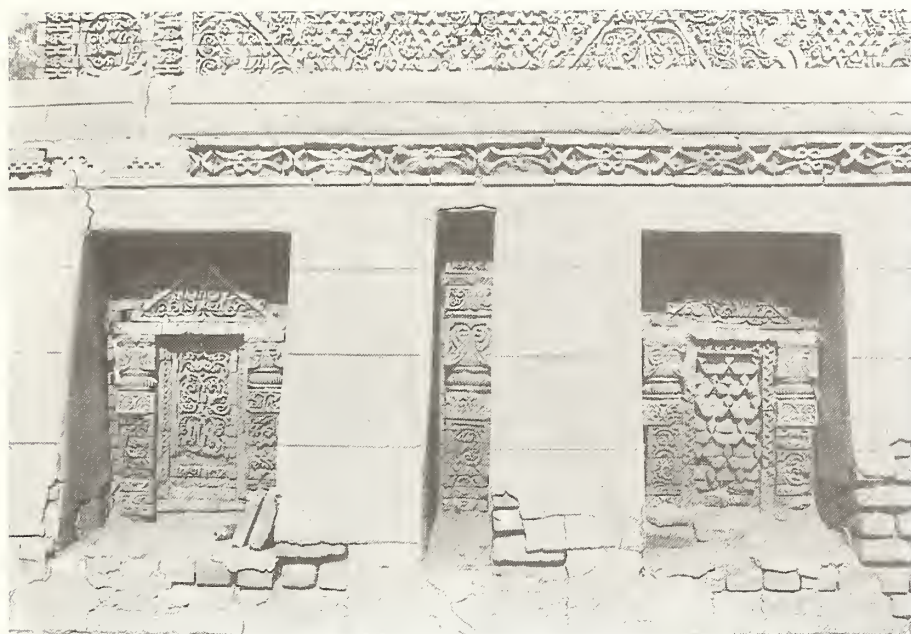


FIG. 5.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd,*  
*platform niches.*



FIG. 6.  
*Detail of platform, temples B and C, Bilot, Salt Range.*

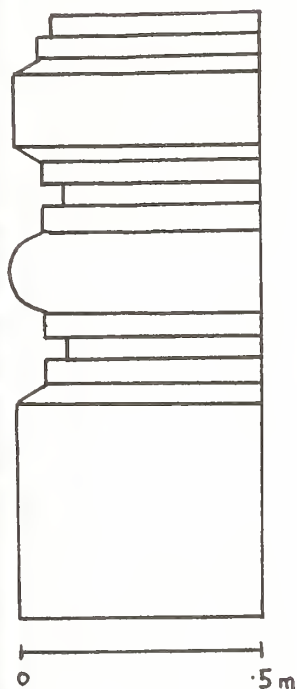


FIG. 7.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd,*  
*base moldings.*

around the exterior of the base (figs. 7, 19, and 29) places the building firmly within the architectural traditions of the Indus Valley and western India, for in it we have a variant of the *pīṭha* moldings that surround the Hindu temple. The profile of the base moldings may be compared with those of the moldings used in the medieval temples of Gujarāt,

Rājasthān, and the Panjāb itself (fig. 11).<sup>15</sup> Of the various elements comprising the decoration of the base moldings, it has been demonstrated elsewhere that almost all have counterparts in the brick decoration of the Indus Valley stupas or in western Indian temple architecture.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from the base moldings, standard elements



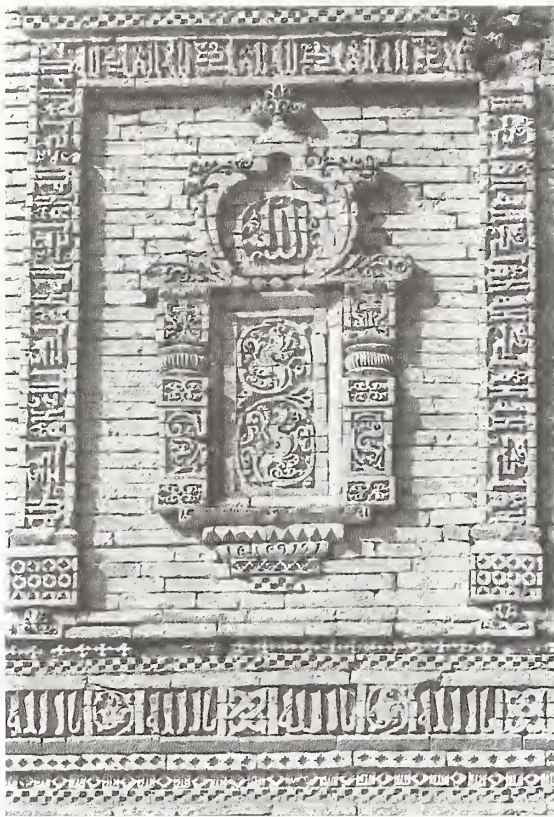


FIG. 8 (ABOVE LEFT).  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd,*  
*gavākṣa niche, eastern*  
*façade.*

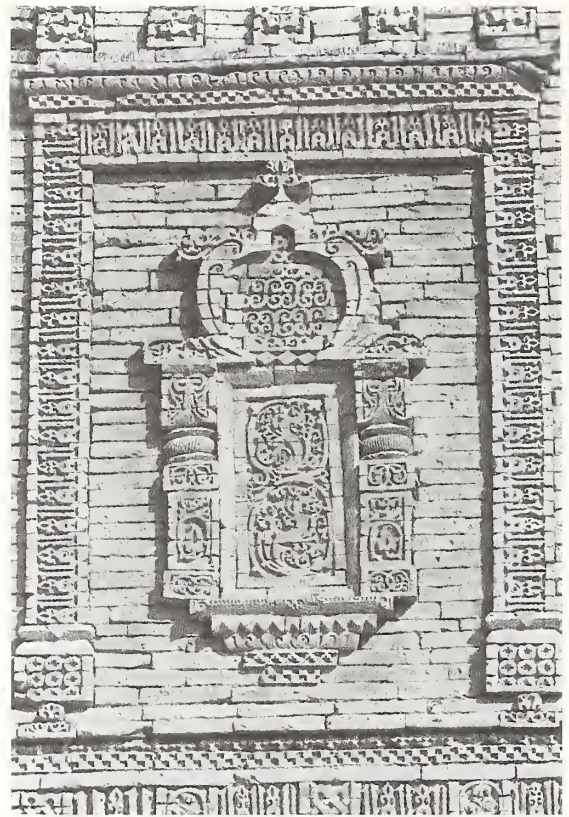


FIG. 9 (ABOVE RIGHT).  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd,*  
*gavākṣa niche, southern*  
*façade.*

FIG. 10 (RIGHT).  
*Stone window grille,*  
*Virūpākṣa Temple,*  
*Paṭṭadakal (after Michell,*  
*The Hindu Temple).*







FIG. 11.  
*Pattan Munāra, Rahimyar Khān, Panjāb.*



FIG. 12.  
*Kallar temple, Salt Range.*

of the north Indian architectural repertoire are used throughout the building. Among these are the *gavākṣa* niches of the façade and the foliated pilasters with overflowing vase (*pūrṇaghata*) capitals resting on *āmalakas* (figs. 8–9 and 21). Both elements appear in the Indus Valley on the exterior of the tenth-century stone temple C at Bilōṭ in the Salt Range and on the earlier brick temple at Kallar (figs. 36–37).<sup>17</sup> Both features appeared in closer geographic and chronological proximity to Shaykh Sādan's tomb in an eleventh- or twelfth-century temple near Vijnōṭ in northeastern Sind and in the mihrab of the tomb at Kabirwala (fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> Similarly, some of the vegetal screens filling the exterior niches are identical to those that appear in the windows of medieval Hindu temples in western India (figs. 8–10).<sup>19</sup>

Not only decorative details but the overall aesthetic of the building manifest the debt to local architectural traditions. The play on light and shade through the alternating projection and recession of

architectonic elements, the sculptural treatment of the brick medium, the projection of selected portions of the façade, the juxtaposition of intensely decorated elements against plain structural brickwork, even the lack of axial symmetry in the treatment of the decoration: all are equally characteristic of medieval Hindu temples. In fact Shaykh Sādan's tomb offers an important insight into the vanished medieval Hindu architecture of the Panjāb, which included the Sun Temple at Multān, one of the major pilgrimage centers in the north of the subcontinent.<sup>20</sup> The consummate skill of the artisans working in brick in the Indus Valley in the centuries before the construction of Shaykh Sādan's tomb may be measured by the only two medieval brick temples that survive in the region: Pattan Munāra south of Multān on the Panjāb-Sind border, datable to the ninth or tenth century (fig. 11), and a temple at Kallar in the Salt Range northwest of the Panjāb, datable a century or so earlier (fig. 12).<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that, in general, those features in



the decoration of the tomb that find parallels in medieval temple architecture suggest a slightly archaic tradition, with most of the closest analogies being furnished by temples of the ninth to eleventh centuries rather than the twelfth and thirteenth.

#### THE GHŪRID DIMENSION

While the tomb of Sādan Shahid shows close affinities with the Buddhist and Hindu architecture of the Indus Valley and western India, it also incorporates features that have their origins in the architectural traditions of Afghanistan and Central Asia. The structure is distinguished as a Muslim funerary monument by its architectural form, for the domed square was the standard type of funerary monument throughout Afghanistan and Central Asia from the tenth century onward and was almost universally adopted in the Indus Valley.<sup>22</sup> The squat appearance of the tomb and the slight batter of the lower walls (fig. 2) is found to a greater or lesser degree in a series of Afghan and Central Asian funerary monuments, starting in the tenth century with the Tomb of the Sāmānids in Bukhārā.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that at least some of these features are also found within the Indus Valley itself. For example, the entasis of the lower walls of the tomb finds a precedent in a stupa near Swāt known as Balo Kile Gunbad, which has been dated as late as the eighth or ninth century.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, in formal terms at least, the exterior appearance of a domed square is not radically distinct from a domical stupa with a high cylindrical drum set on a rectangular base; the unusual proportions of two medieval tombs at Aror in northern Sind might conceivably owe something to the appearance of the numerous brick stupas in the region.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the degree of overlap extends beyond the visual, for the funerary and commemorative functions of the Buddhist stupa are equally redolent of the domed square within a Muslim context.<sup>26</sup>

The dangers that follow from neglecting local precedents in favor of diffusionist paradigms may be further demonstrated by reference to the zone of transition in Shaykh Sādan's tomb. As noted previously, the transition from square chamber to dome was

achieved by means of four projecting arches with concave internal surfaces, each of which is characterized at its base by a cone of dentilated corbeling (fig. 4). The arrangement may conceivably owe something to twelfth-century Central Asian architecture, for it recalls the presence of triangular features at the base of the squinches found in many tombs of the Seljūq period in eastern Khurāsān. The latter, however, generally consist of voids or negative dentils (present as recessed voids rather than projecting cubes), arranged so that the point of the triangle points upward rather than downward, as is the case in Shaykh Sādan's tomb.<sup>27</sup> The closest parallel for the treatment of such cones of dentilation as a positive feature is found in the tomb of Alamberdara near Chardzhou in eastern Turkmenistan, said to date from the twelfth century.<sup>28</sup>

It is also possible, however, that this system developed from the triangular pendentivelike wedges used to transform the rectilinear profile of the chamber on which the *śikhāras* of the Indus Valley temples sat. In the eighth- or ninth-century temple at Kallar one of these wedges is distinguished by a small but significant addition: a single dentil projecting at its base (fig. 13).<sup>29</sup> The lacunae in the material evidence are too great to draw any firm conclusions, but these structural wedges may well have developed into inverted dentilated triangles and then been incorporated into the arch form used in the transitional dome of the later Muslim tombs.<sup>30</sup> If this scenario is plausible, it is even possible that later treatment of the transitional zone in the domed mausolea of eastern Iran and Central Asia was influenced by this solution to the problem of the transitional zone in the earlier Hindu Shāhī architecture of the Panjāb.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, it should be stressed that the regional affinities of the building are evident not only in its formal aspects but also in its constituent elements. The rectangular bricks from which the tomb is constructed are smaller than the square bricks used in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century tombs of eastern Iran and Central Asia but are similar to those used in the Indus Valley temples at Paṭṭan Munāra (fig. 11) and Kallar (fig. 12), as well as in the tombs that post-date them (fig. 38).<sup>32</sup> Similarly, the preference for common bond distinguishes the Indus Valley tombs from their Iranian and Central Asian contemporaries, in

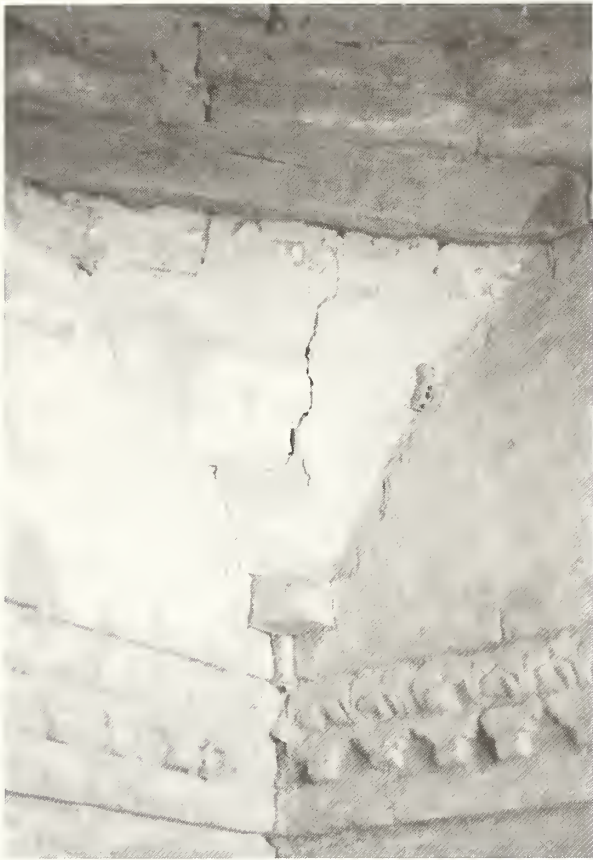


FIG. 13.  
*Detail of pendentive, Kallar temple, Salt Range.*



FIG. 14.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, corner frieze, western façade.*

which the double bond plays an integral structural and decorative role.

Given the difficulties presently associated with both the diffusionist and indigenous paradigms, it might be better for the moment to think of the formal and structural parallels between the architecture of the Indus Valley and that of eastern Iran as having facilitated a serendipitous synthesis between the Muslim architecture of Ghūrid Afghanistan and the Hindu architecture of the Indus Valley. This idea will be explored further in the following section, but it should be noted here that while the cardinal orientation of Shaykh Sādan's tomb—with the west serving (not strictly accurately) as the *qibla* and the main entrance in the wall facing—is in keeping with a practice established in many Ghūrid religious monuments, it also stands in the tradition of the Hindu temple, in which the main entrance generally faced east.<sup>33</sup>

Leaving aside the complexities inherent in ascribing certain formal features to Iranian or Central Asian influence, we are on more solid ground when it comes to the decoration of the tomb, for the architecture of the eastern Islamic world offers numerous analogies for many of the features that it incorporates, for which little precedent can be found within the Indus Valley. For example, the source of the narrow epigraphic bands used to frame the blind niches on each side (figs. 8, 14, 17, 28) lies in the medieval monuments of eastern Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, where such friezes also frame focal architectural features, such as entrances or mihrabs, or delineate the contours of architectonic forms.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the forms and rigid symmetry of the vegetation in the friezes at the corners of the building (fig. 14) find no parallel in medieval Hindu decoration but are similar to the vegetal decoration on some architectural fragments recovered from the Ghaznavid palace at





FIG. 15.  
*Marble relief from Ghazna (after Scerrato, "Summary Report").*



FIG. 16.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahid, remains of foundation text.*

Ghazna (fig. 15) and on the Ghūrīd mausolea at Chisht.<sup>35</sup> These are framed by narrower vertical bands of two distinct types: tightly scrolling vegetation containing single vine leaves and a more fluid, organic scroll that sprouts profusely (fig. 14). The style of the vegetation belongs to two different artistic traditions, for the former finds its closest parallel in the decoration of various medieval Afghan monuments such as the minaret of Jām,<sup>36</sup> while the latter vegetation is of a type that is commonly used in the decoration of the medieval temples of western India (fig. 10). It is as if, lying side by side (figs. 14 and 18), the two friezes, similar in nature but distinct in form, are pointing to the traditions that inform the design of the building and that are elsewhere blended so successfully.

Apart from the substitution of the dome for the *śikhara*, the most obvious indication that this is a

Muslim building lies in the extensive use of epigraphic ornament. The inscriptions in the tomb are of three types: a foundation inscription, a Qurʾānic text, and a series of repetitive religious invocations and doxological formulae. The sheer volume of script incorporated into the decoration of Shaykh Sādan's tomb sets it apart from all the surviving medieval funerary monuments in the Indus Valley but finds a ready point of comparison in the Ghaznavid and Ghūrīd monuments of eastern Iran, which have recently been compared to "huge billboards proclaiming various messages at those who enter them."<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, the use in the tomb of two distinct scripts for inscriptions of different types—*naskhī* for the Qurʾānic and historical inscriptions and Kufic for pious invocations—follows a tradition established in the Ghaznavid architecture of eastern Iran and Afghanistan.<sup>38</sup>





FIG. 17.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd,*  
*detail of eastern façade.*

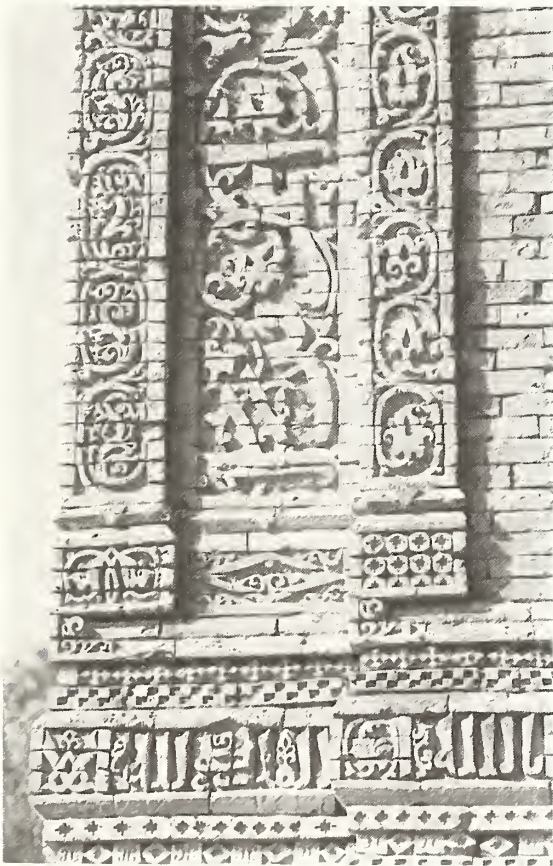


FIG. 18.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, detail of Qurʾānic frieze,*  
*eastern façade.*

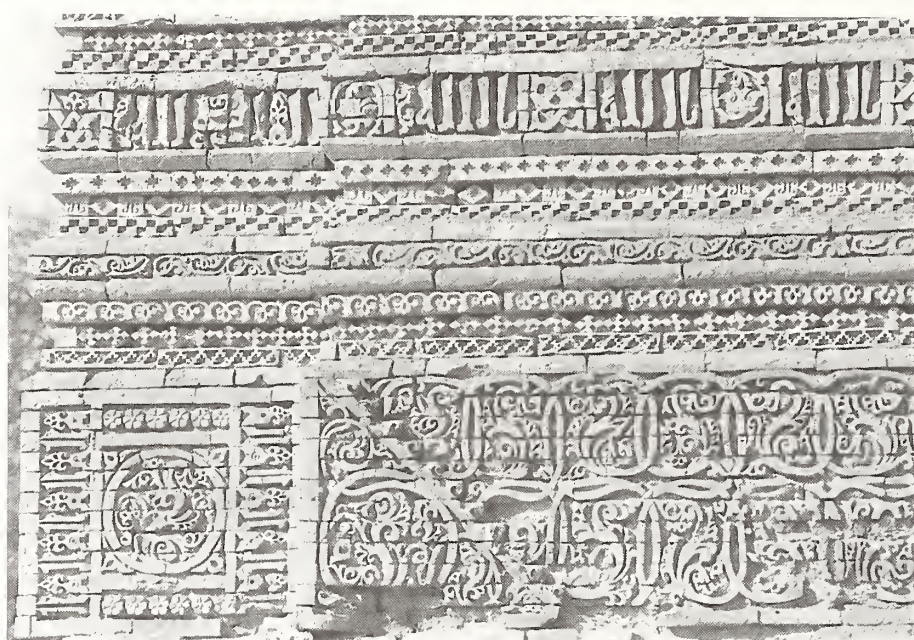
Unfortunately the foundation text, inscribed on a terracotta plaque set directly above the opening on the *qibla* wall (figs. 4 and 16), is the least well preserved. To judge from the remaining portion, the inscription was an extensive one, executed in *naskhi* in two superimposed registers, each 2.2 meters in length. That this was a foundation inscription is clear from its beginning, *amara bi-bināʾ* (“ordered the construction”). The same two words open the foundation inscription of a Ghurid mosque built at Hānsi in the eastern Panjāb in 1197.<sup>39</sup> Despite its fragmentary state, the very presence of such a foundation inscription is significant, for the only other early tomb known to have contained a foundation inscription is the “tomb of Khālīd Walīd” on the opposite bank of the Chināb River, for which the patron was the Ghurid governor of Multān and Lahore.<sup>40</sup>

The sole Qurʾānic inscription in the tomb is rendered in *nashkī* against a foliated ground in a wide frieze surrounding the exterior of the eastern façade, which was evidently the entrance façade (figs. 17–18). The inscription, now incomplete, consisted of the *basmala* followed by verses 1 to 3 of sura 48, *al-Faṭḥ* (Victory):

In the Name of God, the Bountiful, the Compassionate. Lo, we have given thee a signal victory, that Allah may forgive thee of thy sin, that which



FIG. 19.  
Tomb of Sādan Shahīd,  
detail of base moldings,  
eastern façade.



is past and that which is to come, and may perfect His favor unto thee and may guide thee on a right path and that Allah may help thee with strong help.

This sura is traditionally associated with the Treaty of al-Hudaybiya, through which the victory of Islam and Muslim control over the holy places of Mecca was assured.<sup>41</sup> Its content and the context in which it was revealed have an obvious relevance to a building erected in the recently conquered Panjāb. In the Qurʾān, the verses immediately following from those that frame the entrance to Shaykh Sādan's tomb stress the themes of military victory, the chastisement of unbelievers, and the ultimate reward of Paradise. The use of *Sūra al-Fath* to adorn a monument that houses the remains of one believed to have fallen as a *mujāhid*, or martyr, suggests that the choice was quite deliberate.<sup>42</sup>

Quotations from this sura are encountered so frequently on Ghaznavid and Ghūrid religious monuments as to suggest that it acquired a quasi-talismanic quality in the architecture of these dynasties.<sup>43</sup> The Sura of Victory appears in its entirety on the minaret that the Ghaznavid sultan Masʿūd III (r. 1099–1115) erected at Ghazna, where its choice has been linked to Masʿūd's campaigns of *jihād* against Hindustan, the spoils from which may have funded the construction of the tower.<sup>44</sup> The Sura of Victory also occurs frequently in Ghūrid monuments: verses 1–6 appear, for example, around the walls of the Ghūrid oratory

at Lashkar-i Bāzār,<sup>45</sup> while verses 1–4 are used in the niches on the entrance façade of the Ghūrid *madrasa* at Shāh-i Mashhad, dated by a foundation inscription to 571/1175–76.<sup>46</sup> It has been suggested that its presence on the latter monument was related to the Ghūrid victory over the Ghuzz in Gharjistān in 561–62/1165–66.<sup>47</sup> A connection with victory in the Panjāb is also possible, for it was in 571 or the preceding year that Ghūrid armies first appeared in the subcontinent, seizing Multān from the Ismāʿīlis, into whose hands the city had again fallen after Maḥmūd of Ghaznī's bloody chastisement of them in 1010.<sup>48</sup> The same sura continued to be quoted in the succeeding decades on the religious monuments built in Delhi after its capture.<sup>49</sup>

The choice of *Sūra al-Fath* therefore locates the tomb in the wider arena of Ghaznavid and Ghūrid religious epigraphy, while the theme of victory and the damning reference to nonbelievers and idolaters that follows the verses appearing on the tomb may have been considered particularly appropriate to the Panjāb.<sup>50</sup> We should, however, be wary of inferring from the presence of this sura too much regarding the state of Hindu-Muslim relations in the Panjāb in the late twelfth century. The incorporation of these Qurʾānic verses into a structure that is, in so many ways, a product of Indic—and largely Hindu—architectural traditions bears eloquent witness to the frequent divergence between orthodox propaganda and

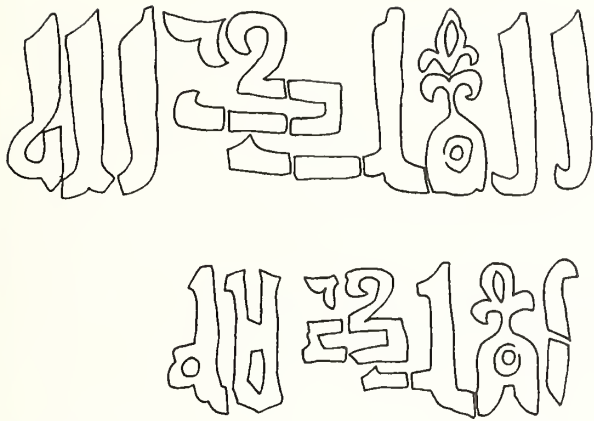


FIG. 20.  
Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, epigraphic ornament from  
two different areas of the eastern façade.

material reality. We should also bear in mind that the Ghūrid conquest of Multān ended what had been almost two centuries of Ismāʿīlī political hegemony in the region, a fact frequently stressed in contemporary sources,<sup>51</sup> which may be equally relevant to the choice of *Sūra al-Faṭḥ*.

The third category of inscription that appears in Shaykh Sādan's tomb consists of renderings of the name of God, invocations of the divine name, and simple doxologies. On the western, northern, and eastern façades the same basic formula is followed, with repetitions of *yā Allāh* and *Allāh* incorporated into the uppermost band of the base moldings (figs. 17–19, 23, 28, 35); the epigraphic ornament on the south face of the monument is distinguished in a manner that will be discussed shortly. Single occurrences of *Allāh* appear in the head of the *gavākṣa* niches crowning the blind niches that flank the entrances, in the pilasters framing the entrances, and in the merlons that appear in various parts of the superstructure (figs. 2, 8, 28). The repetition of the phrase “dominion is God's” (*al-mulk lillāh*) at the corners of the building (figs. 18–20) and in the narrow projecting friezes that frame the blind niches of the façades (figs. 8, 14) serves as a further link between the epigraphic program of the tomb and a series of eleventh- and twelfth-century religious monuments in eastern Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, where single occurrences of *al-mulk* and *al-mulk lillāh* similarly rendered in Kufic script are found alongside repetitions of both to form epigraphic borders.<sup>52</sup>

There may be an apotropaic significance to the placing of single renderings of *al-mulk lillāh* at each corner of the building. The phrase was often inscribed on the columns found in pre-Timūrid buildings in the eastern Islamic world,<sup>53</sup> and the context in which it appears here brings to mind the single engaged columns frequently placed at each of the external corners on eleventh- and twelfth-century Muslim funerary monuments in eastern Iran and Central Asia. The placing here, where architectural supports might be expected, suggests a symbolic attempt to reinforce the corners of the building. This impression is strengthened by the appearance of each of the words *al-mulk* and *lillāh* on the supports of the semidome of the mihrab in the nearby “tomb of Khālid Walid” (fig. 1). It may not be coincidental that in Hindu tradition the corners of the temple are its most vulnerable parts, the most susceptible to malign forces, and therefore the most in need of consolidation and reinforcement, whether actual or symbolic.<sup>54</sup>

Mistakes and inconsistencies in the rendering of individual words and letters—see, for example, the closure of the *kāf* and the absence of an initial *alif* in the lower part of fig. 20—raise questions about the degree of literacy among the artisans responsible for the tomb's decoration. As elsewhere in the Indus Valley, one has the impression that the presence of script was as significant as its legibility. Yet the style of the epigraphic ornament in the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd, no less than its content and manner of use, serves to relate it to the decoration of various Afghan monuments. Just to give one example: the most elaborate epigraphic unit used in the decoration of the tomb consists of a rendering of *lām-mīm-alif* that, repeated three times, appears somewhat incongruously rotated through ninety degrees to fill the rectangular interior of one of the blind niches on the southern façade (fig. 21). The tripartite division into baseline, knotted stem, and foliated terminal is particularly diagnostic, characteristic as it is of Ghūrid monumental epigraphy.<sup>55</sup> The style may, for example, be compared to that of inscriptions on the façade of the Ghūrid *madrasa* at Shāh-i Mashhad (fig. 22).

Without suggesting any equivalence between their respective referents, certain uses of script in the exterior ornament of the building are broadly comparable to the role played by images in the Hindu architecture





FIG. 21.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, gavākṣa niche, southern  
façade.*

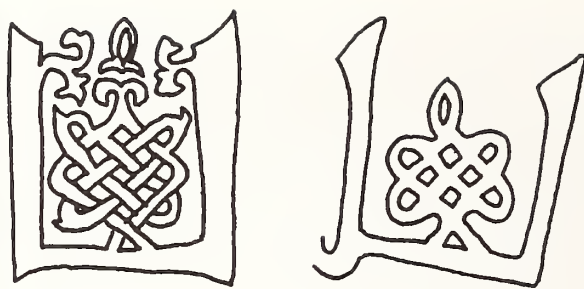


FIG. 22.  
*Detail of pseudo-epigraphic ornament from fig. 21  
compared with part of an inscription at Shāh-i  
Mashhad (drawn after Glatzer, "Shah-i Mashhad,"  
fig. 9).*

of the region, for many of the locations in which single occurrences of *Allāh* are found are precisely those in which one would, in a Hindu context, expect to find images enshrined. For example, the heads of the *gavākṣa* niches, in each of which the word *Allāh* appears (figs. 8 and 28), often served to house an image in the Hindu temple, thereby emphasizing the association between the *gavākṣa* form and the window.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, while the merlons crowning the epigraphic friezes above the entrances and niches of the façades recall the decoration of early Islamic buildings, the context in which they appear and the use of the single word *Allāh* within them (figs. 2 and 17) bring to mind the row of small image-filled niches that often surmounted

FIG. 23.  
*Tomb of Sādan  
Shahīd, detail of base  
moldings, eastern  
façade.*







FIG. 24.  
*Exterior balcony,  
Kumbaśyāma Temple,  
Chittorgarh, Rajasthan.*



FIG. 25.  
*Detail of fig. 24.*

the entrance to the medieval Hindu temples of western India.<sup>57</sup> The incorporation of a narrow horizontal band bearing repetitions of religious formulae into the upper part of the base moldings (figs. 17–19, 23, 28) might also be seen in the context of the substitution of epigraphy for imagery. It recalls such details of temple architecture as the *rājasēnaka*, the narrow decorative frieze below the external balustrades of eighth- to twelfth-century temples, which is frequently decorated with rectangular panels bearing figural imagery alternating with panels decorated with single flowers or rosettes (figs. 24–25).<sup>58</sup> The repetitive aspect of such epigraphic ornament brings to mind the Buddhist

and Hindu practice of circumambulation. The design of the “tomb of Khālīd Walīd” is even more suggestive, for a narrow corridor completely surrounds the funerary chamber in a similar manner to the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* of the Hindu temple or the corridors encircling the central domed chambers in certain of the early medieval Buddhist shrines in Central Asia.<sup>59</sup>

Whether or not any connection exists between the arrangement of the epigraphic ornament of the tomb and the ritual practices associated with it, it seems that a conscious attempt was made to adapt the local non-Muslim tradition to Muslim sensibilities, with the word substituting for the image. Such an adaptation of Hindu



iconography is not entirely lacking in precedent. It has been suggested, for example, that the blank space in the upper arch of a carved stone mihrab from Gwalior, datable perhaps as early as the eighth century, bore a painted inscription in place of the image that one might expect to find within this form on a Hindu temple.<sup>60</sup>

#### TRANSPOSITION AND TRANSFORMATION

A third group of elements used in the decoration of the tomb finds general analogies in both the traditions just discussed but precise parallels in neither. These

elements appear to be the products of a type of intercultural visual translation characterized by the transposition and transformation of standard elements within different, mutually influential, architectural vocabularies. The phenomenon is related to the use of the word in place of the image but extends beyond mere substitution. At its most basic level, the translational process is witnessed in the nature and number of the central openings on each side of the tomb. The blind windows that occur at the center of each façade of the Hindu temples of the region are frequently crowned with a *gavākṣa* form (figs. 11–12 and 37), but the entrances to these temples are usually singular

FIG. 26.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shāhid, detail  
of base moldings, southern  
façade.*



FIG. 27.  
*Moldings of base platform,  
Harihara temple no. 3,  
Osiān, Rajasthan.*





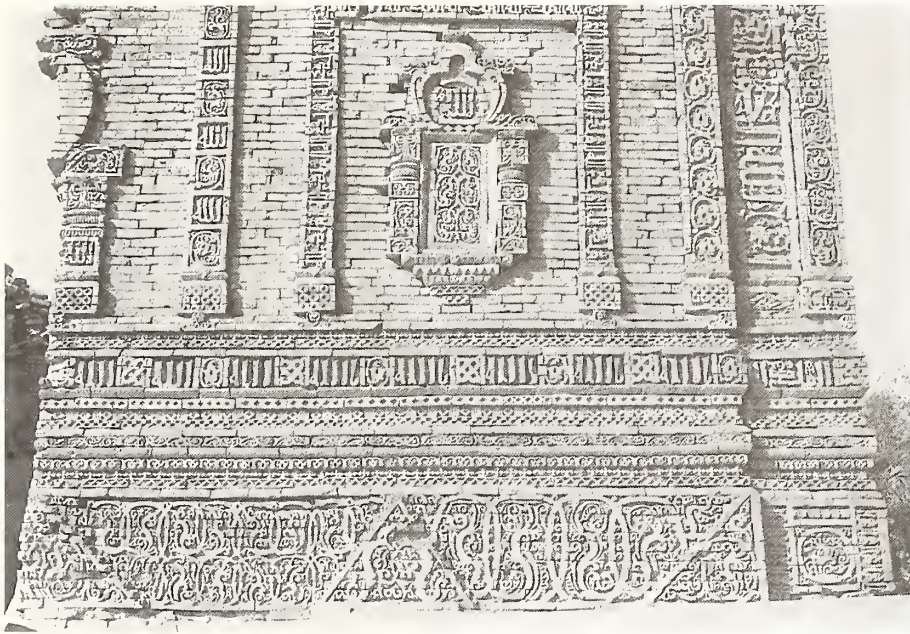


FIG. 28.

*Tomb of Sādan Shahid,  
detail of eastern façade.*

and—in keeping with the trabeate nature of the architectural tradition—rectangular, with a horizontal lintel. The use of the *gavākṣa*—a form generally associated with windows—in each of the four central openings of the tomb (fig. 2) therefore represents an adaptation to produce an approximation of the arch, the standard form of opening on Muslim funerary monuments throughout eastern Iran and Central Asia.

A more complex example of the phenomenon is to be found in the broad, richly decorated horizontal frieze on which the base moldings rest. The frieze contains some familiar elements: the square terminating panels on each face of the monument (fig. 19, far left) may, for example, be compared with a fragmentary stone panel recovered from a post-Gupta temple near Mūrti in the Salt Range or with the carved panels found on the ceilings of a number of Rājasthānī and Gujarātī temples.<sup>61</sup> Alongside such continuity of tradition, one finds the treatment of standard features in a distinctly untraditional fashion. The characteristic projecting triangles that appear at intervals along the frieze (figs. 2, 26, and 33) find their immediate source in the medieval temples of western India, where broad bands decorated with repeating triangles are incorporated into the base moldings and platform moldings of many ninth- and tenth-century temples (fig. 27).<sup>62</sup> The treatment of the frieze differs markedly from its western Indian counterparts, however: in the rendering of the triangles as discontinuous, in

the fact that they project from the surrounding wall surface, in the internal decoration with vegetal and other motifs and the sprouting of tendrils from the exterior edges of the triangles (figs. 26 and 29), and so forth. In the present state of our knowledge regarding the pre-Ghūrīd architecture of the Panjāb, it is difficult to say whether these innovations reflect a regional tradition that developed independently of the western Indian architectural styles by which it was influenced or result from the impact of eastern Iranian influences upon that tradition.

That the latter is the case is suggested by other aspects of the frieze on which the base moldings rest. Although the dense organic scrolling vegetal forms with which the bulk of the frieze is covered (figs. 19, 26, and 28) are very much in the Indic tradition (fig. 10), into these are inserted two elements that are clearly not part of that tradition: ogival arches and knotted stems (figs. 26, 28–29, and 33). The ogival form of the arches on the base moldings (figs. 28 and 33) is quite distinct from that of the *gavākṣa* niches on the façades of the tomb (figs. 8–9). Precise analogies for their form are not in fact found in the Hindu or Buddhist architecture of the Indus region but in a range of eastern Islamic monuments.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the knots incorporated into the frieze in other places (figs. 26 and 29) are derived not from any Hindu or Buddhist decorative tradition but from the knotted or plaited Kufic found throughout the eastern Islamic world from the



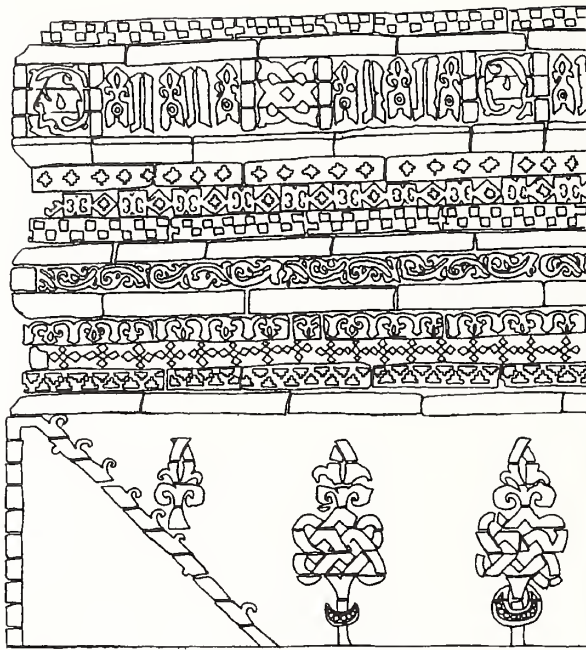


FIG. 29.  
*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, detail of base moldings,  
southern façade.*

Sāmānid period onward.<sup>64</sup> Examples of such knotted script appear in one of the niches on the south façade, directly above the zone of vegetal ornament within which the knotted stems occur (figs. 21–22). The use of crescent-shaped ligatures filled with pearl roundels on the stems of the knots incorporated into the base frieze on the southern side of the tomb (figs. 26 and 29) continues a conjunction of vegetal forms with jewelry first found in the Dome of the Rock but finds a more immediate source in the decoration of various twelfth-century eastern Iranian monuments (figs. 15 and 30).

Although these arches and knots might be seen as random interpolations within a decorative scheme drawn largely from an established Indus Valley repertoire, the abstraction of such knots from an epigraphic context and their incorporation into a decorative scheme of purely vegetal character is not unique to the Panjābī tomb. It is also found in the semidome of the twelfth-century mihrab in a mosque near Darra-i Shākh in northwestern Afghanistan, where the scrolling vegetal ornament that fills the hood of the niche seems to spring from a knotted stem at its base (figs. 31–32).<sup>65</sup> Equally, however idiosyncratic its appearance in the Muzaffargarh tomb, the incorpora-



FIG. 30.  
*Detail of stucco ornament on the intrados of the main  
iwān, Ribāt-i Sharaf, Khurāsān (photo Chloe Steele).*

tion of polylobed arches into vegetal decoration carved on a low dado (fig. 33) is not unprecedented. A parallel exists in the palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazna, where the marble slabs that covered the lower wall were carved with an interlocking series of trilobed arches offset against a dense symmetrical arrangement of vegetal ornament (fig. 34).<sup>66</sup> The form of the vegetation in the Panjābī frieze bears little relation to that at Ghazna, but the arches incorporated into the base frieze are similar, as is the appearance of both on a low dado. It seems highly likely therefore that the treatment of the frieze resulted from an improvised attempt to find equivalences between elements of both the Indic and Ghaznavid/Ghūrid architectural traditions, an endeavor facilitated by the formal similarities between the flat rectangular frieze on the base moldings of Hindu temples and the low, highly decorated marble dados that were used in the palace at Ghazna and





FIG. 31.  
Mihrab with stucco decoration, mosque near  
Darra-i Shākh (photo Jonathan Lee).



FIG. 32.  
Detail of stucco  
decoration in fig. 31  
(photo Jonathan Lee).

FIG. 34.  
Fragment of a marble dado from the palace of  
Mas'ūd III, Ghazna (after Bombaci, *Kūfic  
Inscriptions*).

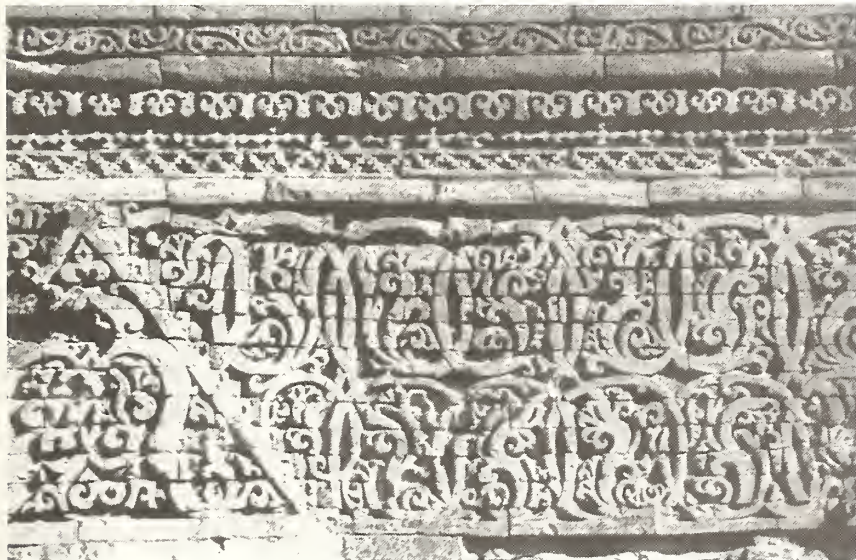
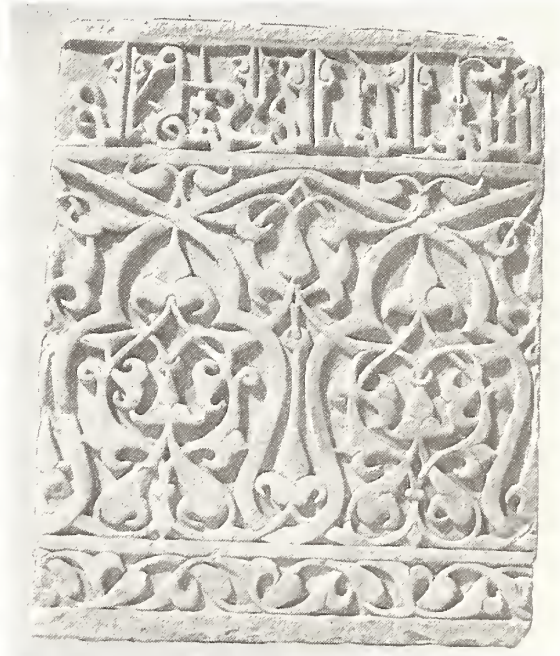


FIG. 33.  
Tomb of Sādan Shahid, ogival arch incorporated into base moldings, eastern  
façade.





elsewhere.

This hypothesis is in keeping with Michael Meister's observation that the phenomenon of borrowing from the vocabulary of the temple in early Indo-Muslim architecture constitutes "a sort of empathetic response of local workmen, finding similarities between elements in the local tradition and alien demands."<sup>67</sup> The corollary of this is also true: the striking absence of certain standard features of Ghūrid architectural decoration—carved stucco, glazed tile, or geometric ornament—should probably be attributed to their absence from the local pre-Ghūrid architectural repertoire.<sup>68</sup> Within the limits of media and form, the translational dynamic thus reveals itself primarily in novel approaches to elements selected from a preexisting architectural vocabulary. One can easily imagine how a description of an unfamiliar feature may have resulted in the transformation of a potentially analogous element of an existing decorative tradition, adapted to serve the requirements of patrons whose visual skills varied considerably. Several hundred years later, a similar exercise in improvisation may be observed in the funerary monuments erected for another group of imperial rulers; the process by which such monuments came into being offers an interesting insight into the problems and practicalities of cross-cultural visual translation:

Generally the interred person's relatives or friends provided the mason with a rough idea of what type of monument they wanted. Often they were people who had rather incoherent ideas of English architectural forms and were inspired by the oriental monuments around them but had little acquaintance with the architectural traditions of either. Consequently, details were left to the discretion of the mason who was of course a native. He had his own notions and preferences.<sup>69</sup>

The earlier role of Hindu craftsmen in a similar translational process is attested by numerous inscriptions found on Indo-Muslim buildings from the late twelfth century onward<sup>70</sup> and is witnessed by the existence of texts designed to guide craftsmen in constructing religious buildings of various sorts, including the mosque. One such *śāstra*, compiled in Rajasthan or Gujarat in the fifteenth century, describes the archi-

tectural and decorative forms appropriate for a mosque, many already familiar from the foregoing discussion of Shaykh Sādan's mausoleum:

Their temple is called "*Rehamāṇa-Surālaya*" (abode of the god "Rehamāṇa," i.e. Allāh in His compassionate form). There is no image and there they worship the formless, attributeless and all-pervading Supreme God whom they call Rehamāṇa (One who is Compassionate) through *dhyāna* (contemplation). . . . Directions should be precisely ascertained and the *prāsāda* should face the east, i.e., its main entrance should be given on the eastern side; on the north and south sides it should be given enclosing walls. The plinth would consist of series of *bhitt*, *upa bhitt* and *pīṭha*. Ornamentations should consist of floral designs only. . . . Ornamental arched niches should be carved on the walls; there should be medallions containing rosettes on the façade, between the pillars; all façades should be composed of arches supported on pillars. . . . The *qibla* wall would be entirely enclosed. In all, pillars would be in seven parts of the *prāsāda* (?) and all these would bear only floral designs (consisting of flowers and leaves).<sup>71</sup>

Other Sanskrit sources reportedly indicate that the specific requirements of Muslim religious architecture occupied the minds of Hindu craftsmen from an even earlier date.<sup>72</sup> The practical results of such concerns may be witnessed in the twelfth-century Islamic monuments of Gujarāt and the Panjāb and in the earliest monuments of the Delhi Sultanate.<sup>73</sup>

#### THE DATE OF SHAYKH SĀDAN'S TOMB

Having established some of the stylistic and iconographic antecedents of the tomb and its decoration, we need to turn now to the question of its date. According to local tradition, the tomb was built to house the remains of Shaykh Sādan or Sāndan Sharif, a local holy man descended from one of the Arab warriors who came to the region in the early eighth century as part of Muḥammad b. Qāsim's army.<sup>74</sup> The shaykh is said to have perished in 674/1275, during one of the Mongol incursions into the Panjāb; the

elongated cenotaph serves as a visual indicator that the tomb is one of those referred to as *nō gāza* (nine gaz), identified in popular tradition as the resting place of a *mujāhid*.<sup>75</sup> Apart from the date of his demise, little information seems to be available on Shaykh Sādan, who does not appear in any of the works on the *awliyā*<sup>2</sup> of Multān that I have been able to consult.

The parallels just cited for the formal, decorative, and epigraphic aspects of the tomb all indicate a relationship with the surviving Ghaznavid and Ghūrid monuments of Iran and Afghanistan. On stylistic grounds, therefore, there are reasons to doubt the date traditionally ascribed to the structure on the basis of Shaykh Sādan's biography. Further suspicion is cast upon this date by the similarities in both general style and specific details between the decoration of the mihrab in the "tomb of Khālid Walid" (fig. 1) and that of Shaykh Sādan's tomb (figs. 8–9). The mention of 'Alī b. Karmākh in the foundation inscription of the former monument provides a *terminus post quem*, for the same individual is known to have been appointed governor of Multān in 571/1176.<sup>76</sup> All the evidence therefore points to the fact that the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd was not, as is usually claimed, built in the later thirteenth century but in the last quarter of the twelfth century or the first decade of the thirteenth. Moreover, the various parallels between Shaykh Sādan's tomb and the Ghūrid monuments of Afghanistan on the one hand, and the nearby structure built by 'Alī b. Karmākh on the other, indicate that it too is a product of Ghūrid patronage. The existence of two such monuments in close proximity to each other suggests that what has been referred to as the "Ghūrid interlude" in the Panjāb was less ephemeral than previously thought.<sup>77</sup>

As for the identity of Shaykh Sādan himself, it is possible that some relationship exists between Shaykh Sādan Shahīd and Shāh Dāna Shahīd, whose tomb is still visited in nearby Multān. Like the *mujāhid* enshrined in the tomb near Muzaffargarh, the saint buried at Multān is said to have fallen during one of the Mongol attacks on the Panjāb in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>78</sup> A popular identification of the Muzaffargarh tomb with the Multani saint after the identity of its original incumbent—a Ghūrid *mujāhid* perhaps—had been forgotten would not be exceptional. In the Indus Valley it

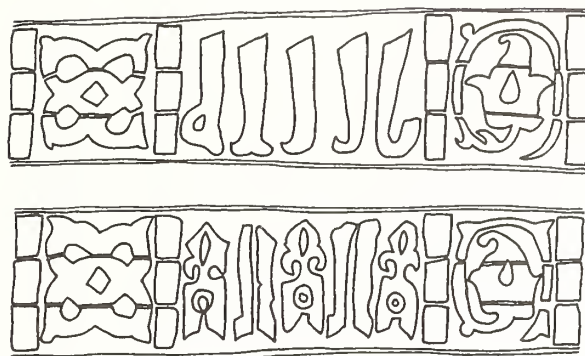


FIG. 35.

*Tomb of Sādan Shahīd, epigraphic ornament of base moldings on eastern and southern façades compared.*

is by no means unknown for a particular saint to have more than one tomb, in each of which his spiritual power is believed to be manifest as potently as at the site of his actual interment.<sup>79</sup>

#### THE SOUTHERN FAÇADE

The tomb is therefore likely to be a product of Ghūrid patronage, its form a reflection of the enduring strength of Indus Valley architectural traditions as well as the ability of local artisans to absorb new influences and, consequently, to transform standard elements of those traditions. One final aspect of its decoration will serve to demonstrate that this was not a superficial process, involving merely the juxtaposition of what may have been foreign with what was certainly familiar, but a complex syncretism in which the aesthetic and religious concerns of Muslim patrons were blended with the beliefs and traditions of those working for them.

While the overall decorative scheme is broadly similar on the exterior of all four sides, the southern façade is distinguished from the others in a radical manner. Although, somewhat curiously, no comment on this discrepancy has been made in any of the published accounts of the tomb, the distinction is immediately apparent in the epigraphic content of the south face. On the base moldings or in the narrow framing epigraphic friezes, for example, the repetitions of *yā Allāh* or *al-mulk lillāh* found on the other three façades are replaced by pseudo-epigraphic ornament consisting of repeated units of *lām-mīm-alif* (fig. 35;



compare figs. 26 and 28). This apparent negation of meaning recurs in the substitution of vegetal ornament for the occurrences of *Allāh* found in the heads of niches or filling merlons on the three remaining façades (compare figs. 8 and 9).

Most apparent in the idiosyncratic handling of its epigraphy, the distinction of the south façade is not confined to the treatment of script. The columns supporting the *gavākṣa* niches on this side are distinguished from those on the other sides, where both sets of supporting columns contain either scrolling vegetal ornament (on the eastern façade; fig. 8) or pseudo-epigraphy (on the northern and western façades). Here the columns of each niche are treated differently, with one set containing pseudo-epigraphy (fig. 21) while the other is filled with vegetal ornament. Although all the other screens of the blind windows of the tomb are filled with vegetal ornament, the interior of the left-hand niche on the south side is filled with script rotated through ninety degrees (figs. 21–22). This rotation reflects a relaxed attitude toward stylistic coherence and consistency otherwise manifest in the juxtaposition of different styles and motifs along the same sections of the base frieze (fig. 2), yet once again it is the south side—where four different styles may be detected in the base frieze—that is the most eclectic.



FIG. 36.  
*Kallar temple, Salt Range, detail of western façade.*

FIG. 37.  
*Kallar temple, Salt Range, detail of southern façade.*







FIG. 38.  
*Lāl Mahra Sharif,*  
*Tomb No. 1 from the*  
*southeast.*

There are thus numerous indications—including the dramatic substitution of pseudo-epigraphy for religious inscriptions, certain subtle but notable changes in its decorative content, and its general eclecticism—that a deliberate attempt was made to distinguish the southern façade of the tomb from all others. It is highly unlikely that the southern wall served as the *qibla*, and the presence of a Qurʾānic inscription around the eastern entrance suggests that this, and not the opening on the southern side, was the principal entrance to the tomb. This being so, the question arises as to why the exterior of the south façade was so dramatically distinguished.

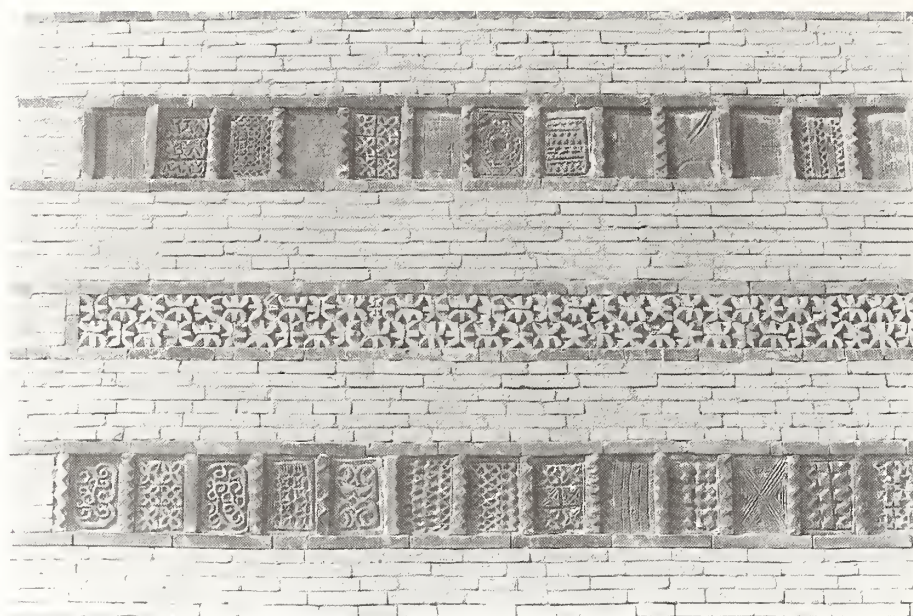
Parallels for the highly idiosyncratic treatment of the southern façade are not found either in western Indian temples or in the medieval Islamic architecture of eastern Iran and Central Asia. That the practice relates to an earlier Indus Valley tradition is suggested by the decoration of the small eighth- or ninth-century brick temple at Kallar in the Salt Range. Here the uniform use of *pūrṇaghaṭa* (overflowing vase) capitals gives way, on the south façade only, to an alternation of *pūrṇaghaṭa* capitals with capitals consisting of densely foliated vegetal ornament (compare figs. 36 and 37). This distinction of the southern face of the temple through its decoration recalls the later treatment of the southern façade of the Muzaffargarh tomb, which, in ad-

dition to its idiosyncratic epigraphic content, is the most eclectic in its ornamentation. The lacunae in our knowledge of later Hindu architecture in the Indus Valley make it difficult to trace a series of monuments that might fill the chronological gap between the Kallar temple and the tomb of Sādan Sharif, but a similar phenomenon manifests itself in other Muslim monuments in the region.

The unusual treatment of the south façade of the Muzaffargarh tomb is, for example, paralleled in some of the medieval tombs in the necropolis at Lāl Mahra Sharif near Dera Ismāʿil Khān, the date of which should probably be bracketed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>80</sup> The exterior ornament of Tomb No. 1 is, for example, articulated by the use of blind niches, the number of which is not uniform. The greatest number, nine, are reserved for the exterior of the *qibla* (western) wall. On both the northern and eastern sides four niches appear on each side of the central opening. Contrary to expectation, this scheme is not continued on the southern side; instead, six niches in total are used, a reduction of one on each side (fig. 38).<sup>81</sup> In Tomb No. 4, the southern façade was distinguished more subtly, by both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of its decoration. Discussing the blue-glazed plaques bearing abstract geometric designs that adorn the upper part of the exterior of the tomb, Holly Edwards comments:



FIG. 39.  
*Lāl Mahra Sharīf, Tomb  
 No. 4, glazed plaques on  
 southern façade.*



There would appear to be no particular logic or deliberate sequence in their placement on the building, with one possible exception. Exactly on axis over the south door there is a plaque with a bull's-eye design in which the centre is a deep and emphatic depression. Among the plaques still in situ, this is unique and its positioning seems deliberate rather than accidental.<sup>82</sup>

Unfortunately, the original placing of the plaques was altered in the recent restoration of the tombs, but despite the fact that the plaque described above now appears in a different position (fig. 39, top row, center), it is clearly visible above the south entrance in prerestoration photographs.<sup>83</sup> It is also noteworthy that one less plaque appears on the southern façade than on the northern and that, on many of the plaques decorating the former, decoration is either absent or so lightly incised that they appear blank.

The significance of what appears to be a tradition of differentiating the southern façade is not immediately clear, but a clue is perhaps provided by the tendency to omit elements, to “blank out” aspects of the decorative scheme. These omissions might suggest that the south façade was somehow seen in a negative light. Nothing in Muslim tradition indicates that the south was regarded in this way. On the contrary, the linguistic and cultural associations of the south are entirely felicitous.<sup>84</sup> By contrast, in Hindu

belief systems the south is the direction from which death approaches and, as a consequence, is associated with a range of taboos. For this reason images of Yama, the god of Death, and divinities of evil portent or those associated with the dead often appear on the south face of the Hindu temple, which almost never faces in this direction.<sup>85</sup> Such beliefs were recorded up until the present century in the Indus Valley, where the region beyond the Indus to the south was regarded as the land of the dead.<sup>86</sup>

The “blanking out” of the south façade of the Muzaffargarh tomb may therefore be seen either as an attempt to reflect the nature of the south—the direction from which life is extinguished—or as an indication that it was somehow considered inappropriate to have the name of God facing the direction of death.<sup>87</sup> In any case, it seems that the decoration of some of the medieval Muslim funerary monuments of the Indus Valley was influenced by non-Muslim traditions regarding the south as an inauspicious direction. It should be stressed once again that the practice of distinguishing the south side through its decoration is found in neither Muslim nor non-Muslim religious architecture outside the Indus Valley but appears instead to be a regional tradition.

As remarkable as the influence of such traditions concerning the south is the manner in which they are expressed. The “blanking out” of the south façade is



FIG. 40.

*Fragments of pseudo-epigraphic tile ornament from Ghazna (after Scerrato, "Islamic Glazed Tiles").*

achieved primarily by substituting repetitions of *lām-mīm-alif* for the renderings of *Allāh*, *yā Allāh*, and *al-mulk lillāh* that appear in the same positions on the other three sides (figs. 8–9, 28–29, and 35). Identical pseudo-epigraphic borders, also consisting of repetitions of *lām-mīm-alif*, are occasionally found elsewhere in eastern Iran, notably on some of the glazed architectural tiles produced at Ghazna during the Ghūrid period (fig. 40).<sup>88</sup> The formula may represent a highly stylized rendering of the divine name<sup>89</sup> or may also be related to the repeated use of *al-mulk*, an abbreviation for *al-mulk lillāh*, as an epigraphic border on various eleventh- and twelfth-century monuments in Central Asia and Afghanistan.<sup>90</sup> In any case, the substitution of *lām-mīm-alif* for both *al-mulk lillāh* and *yā Allāh* on the southern façade of Shaykh Sādan's tomb testifies to the adaptation of a pre-Ghūrid Indus Valley tradition for a Ghūrid tomb, in a manner consistent with the tastes of a Ghūrid patron. This continuity in concept, if not in the precise mode of expression, underlines once again both the translational nature of the cultural processes to which Shaykh Sādan's tomb is witness and the preeminence of regional iconographic impulses in its decoration.

#### RECEPTION AND ASSIMILATION IN INDUS VALLEY ARCHITECTURE

That such a sophisticated example of architectural transculturation appeared in the Panjāb so soon af-

ter the Ghūrid conquest raises a number of questions about the pre-Ghūrid architecture of the region and the nature of cultural interaction between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The existence of a long tradition of receptivity in the material culture of the Indus Valley is witnessed by the assimilation of Graeco-Roman elements in its early Buddhist art and architecture and by the influence of northern Indian temple traditions on its Hindu architecture.<sup>91</sup> In addition to new possibilities for architectural patronage in the wake of the Ghūrid conquest, the transculturation to which the two Ghūrid tombs bear witness was, I suggest, facilitated by two key factors: first, the contemporaneous reception of Indic influences in Ghūrid art and architecture and, second, the probability that Hindu craftsmen had been working for Muslim patrons in the Multān region even before it came under the control of the Ghūrids.

Although it is clear that the architectural traditions of the Panjāb and Sind were receptive to influences from Afghanistan and Central Asia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, what is seldom acknowledged is that this influence was reciprocal: Ghūrid architecture was itself receptive to the art and architecture of the subcontinent during the same period. The most remarkable manifestation of this receptivity is in the stone shrine known as the *Masjid-i sangī*, at Larvand in central Afghanistan (fig. 41).<sup>92</sup> Much of the carved decoration of the building, which includes animal imagery, has been convincingly related to that of the Hindu and Jain temples erected in Gujarat and Kathiawar between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The *Masjid-i sangī* has been dated on stylistic grounds to the last decades of the twelfth century or the early thirteenth—roughly contemporary with the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd—and may have been located near the residence of one of the Ghūrid *maliks*.<sup>93</sup>

While the *Masjid-i sangī* is unprecedented in Afghanistan, there are several further examples of Indic elements incorporated into the architecture of the Ghūrid homelands at this period. One example is the decoration of a cenotaph, which popular tradition identifies as that of the Ghaznavid ruler Mas'ūd I (d. 1041) but which Flury and others have dated to





FIG. 41.  
*Larvand, façade of Masjed-i sangi (after Scarcia and Taddei, "The Masjed-i Sangi").*

the Ghūrid period (fig. 42).<sup>94</sup> Two horizontal friezes define the upper and lower edges of the stone cenotaph: an upper band of half-rosettes and a narrow lower band with a lotus scroll. The style of both friezes and the manner in which they are used find parallels in the decoration of numerous medieval temples. A continuous frieze of half-rosettes is, for example, incorporated into the superstructure of the temple at Paṭṭan Munāra in the southern Panjāb (fig. 11). Whether constructed from spolia or specially commissioned,<sup>95</sup> the Ghazna cenotaph indicates that the style of the Masjed-i sangi is less idiosyncratic than at first appears.

The foliated capital at the left of the Ghazna cenotaph (fig. 42) is another Indic import, related in its design to the *pūrṇaḥaṭa* capitals found in Shaykh Sādan's tomb and elsewhere. These appear to have been particularly popular in Ghūrid art, for a column with a lotus base and a similar (although more stylized) vegetal capital is found on a funerary stele from Bust dated 591/1195 (fig. 43).<sup>96</sup> Although it has some-

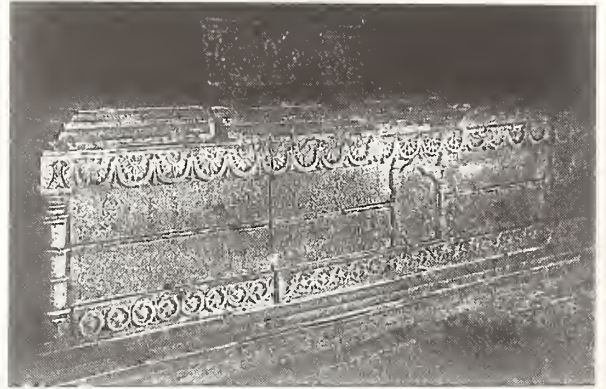


FIG. 42.  
*Ghūrid cenotaph with Indic column and friezes, Ghazna (after Flury, "Le décor épigraphique").*

times been claimed that Ghaznavid art was resistant to Indic influence, a capital of this type appears even earlier on a Ghaznavid relief from Afghanistan that should probably be dated to the early twelfth century.<sup>97</sup> Among other indications of Indic influence in the monuments of Ghūr, one might mention the use of saw-tooth moldings to delineate architectural features.<sup>98</sup>

If the development of a transcultural style in the Ghūrid monuments of the Panjāb was facilitated by formal and functional equivalences between certain elements of Ghūrid and pre-Ghūrid Indic traditions,





FIG. 43.  
Stele dated 591/1195 with Indic column, Bust (after  
Sourdel-Thomine, "Stèles arabes").

then it seems highly likely that the mutual receptivity of Afghan and north Indian art created the appropriate preconditions for this process. A further (if less quantifiable) factor likely to have influenced the form of Ghūrid structures in the Indus Valley was the existence of pre-Ghūrid monuments built for Muslim patrons. The Panjāb as a whole had been under Muslim control from the mid-eleventh century, and the region around Multān from the Umayyad period onward, even if the nature of that rule is often vague and the material culture to which it gave rise virtually unknown. The virtuosity to which the decoration of Shaykh Sādan's tomb bears witness hardly suggests a craft that came into being *ex nihilo* with the advent of the Ghūrids. That modes of Indic decoration were neither unfamiliar nor unpalatable to the Ghūrid patrons of Panjābī tombs has just been demonstrated. On the other side of the equation are the craftsmen who may well have been accustomed to work for both Hindu and Muslim patrons before the advent of the Ghūrids.

Although no pre-Ghūrid monuments survive in the Panjāb, they do in neighboring Sind, where Indic elements were common in local mosques as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In a mosque at Thāmbō Wārī, for example, columns within the mihrab once taken to be Hindu spolia have recently been shown to have been carved specifically for the building.<sup>99</sup> A carved stone epigraphic frieze framing the mihrab of the mosque was echoed in the decoration of a nearby smaller mosque, where the remains of a monumental epigraphic brick frieze were found.<sup>100</sup> Similar combinations of generic Indic architectural forms or decorative motifs with more culturally specific modes of decoration (notably Arabic inscriptions) may be found in the mosques and shrines built by the adjacent Muslim communities of Gujarāt at this period.<sup>101</sup> These were, however, the products of minority communities existing within Hindu or Jain polities. That pre-Sultanate Sindi mosques display similar qualities suggests that artisans drew on a common pool of architectural and decorative forms in their work for both Hindu and Muslim patrons, even in areas that had been under Muslim control from the Umayyad period. Despite their parallels in contemporary Hindu architecture, there is nothing to suggest that the forms used in the decoration of these monuments were invested with sectarian connotations. On the contrary, their reception from Ghūr to Gujarāt is evidence of openness toward the incorporation of Indic elements into the decoration of Muslim monuments, if not a positive taste for ornament of this sort.

The tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd opens a window into that liminal realm, the frontier between the *dār al-Islām* and the *dār al-ḥarb* on the eve of the Ghūrid conquest of northern India. In doing so, it enables us to see beyond the standard representation of Indo-Ghūrid architecture as the lithic rendering of a "jihād mentality." The problems inherent in the "jihadist" paradigm are nowhere more acutely manifest than in previous analyses of the two key religious monuments of the Ghūrid period: the "Quwwat al-Islām" Mosque in Delhi (1192 onward) and the Aḏhāi dīn kā Jhōmṛā Mosque at Ajmīr (1199). A reductive and generally unanalytical focus on the reuse of material derived from Hindu and Jain temples in these Ghūrid congregational mosques has figured



both buildings as iconoclastic celebrations of the military victories and political hegemony of Islam. In the case of the Ajmir mosque, it has been demonstrated that what have usually been considered spolia were in fact freshly carved for the building; its decoration thus witnesses processes of transformation similar to those that I have been considering here.<sup>102</sup> In many other cases the use of spolia is only explicable in terms of the aesthetic or symbolic value placed on the reused elements, even if the ultimate intention was to underscore the supersession of past glories.<sup>103</sup> This is to deny neither that temples were destroyed nor that their elements were ever reused in the construction of mosques.<sup>104</sup> But it cannot simply be assumed, as has frequently been the case, that the appearance of Indic elements in Muslim religious architecture indicates the use of spolia and, by extension, constitutes evidence for an iconoclastic attitude toward Hindu religious monuments.<sup>105</sup> As Fritz Lehman remarks:

Early Turkish sultans were proud to call themselves “Ghazis” (holy warriors) and destroyers of temples, but not to boast about their patronage of Hindu craftsmen. But they clearly did better at the second than the first.<sup>106</sup>

The architectural phenomenon just discussed is closely related to the interaction among different religious groups in the region. The memorialization of the dead, especially fallen warriors, is by no means exclusive to Islam.<sup>107</sup> There is, moreover, a considerable degree of overlap in the sacred geography of the subcontinent, with some shrines sacred to both Hindus and Muslims, while others are visited by members of both communities in spite of their specific associations with one tradition or another.<sup>108</sup> Within the Indus Valley itself, Holly Edwards has pointed out that faith “simply fell somewhere in the spectrum of piety, a range that had poles, gradations and distinctions, but few exclusionary boundaries.”<sup>109</sup>

The Indus Valley tombs provide unambiguous evidence that craftsmen drew on a common pool of architectural and decorative forms in their work for patrons of various religious affiliations. This suggests that, as far as studies of Indo-Ghūrid religious archi-

tecture are concerned, the emphasis on destruction and exclusion has frequently served to obscure the degree of innovation and assimilation. The tendency on the part of art historians dealing with the visual culture of this period to take official documents such as monumental epigraphy and courtly histories at face value, avoiding any serious historiographic analysis, has further obscured many of the paradoxes, contradictions, and inconsistencies inherent in these vehicles of political propaganda. Such anomalies are integral to any understanding of cultural interaction in South Asia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for the contradictions between the literary sources and contemporary visual “texts” serve as a reminder that each address different audiences in different ways, offering different—sometimes complementary, sometimes conflicting—perspectives on contemporary history.<sup>110</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Like the nearby “tomb of Khālid Walid,” the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd is the product of a period of intense experimentation and dynamic innovation in the architecture of the subcontinent. Both structures appear to have been erected almost contemporaneously on opposite banks of the Chināb River, a location that ensured ease of access and an adequate supply of water.<sup>111</sup> Given the certainty of Ghūrid patronage in one case and the high probability of such patronage in the other, it is tempting to speculate that both monuments represent different facets of an architectural program designed to foster a revival of religious orthodoxy in a region known for the enduring strength of its heterodox views. The provision of acceptable foci for pilgrimage in the form of shrines of saints and mystics would be one means of encouraging visible expressions of Sunnī orthodoxy. This was a common Ghūrid practice, as the royal foundations at Chisht and elsewhere indicate,<sup>112</sup> and it is notable that the Qurʾānic inscription framing the mihrab in the tomb of Khālid Walīd emphasizes the merits of providing for pilgrims.<sup>113</sup> The “Quwwat al-Islām” in Delhi and the Aḡhāi dīn kā Jhōmṛā Mosque at Ajmir are only two among numerous religious buildings

erected in the Panjāb and Rājasthān in the last decades of the twelfth century, many of which were products of high-level patronage.<sup>114</sup> This activity is likely to reflect both utilitarian and ideological concerns: the need to cater to the religious needs of a Muslim population swollen by migration and—to an unknown extent—by conversion and, equally, to signify the permanent incorporation of the newly conquered territories into the *dār al-Islām*.<sup>115</sup>

Apart from their intrinsic historical interest, the Indo-Ghūrid tombs in the Panjāb raise more general issues related to the conceptualization of cross-cultural exchange in precolonial South Asia and the question of regionalism in Ghūrid architecture. As I have demonstrated above, the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd incorporates features present in the pre-Ghūrid architecture of the Indus Valley but absent in the architectural traditions of eastern Iran and western India. By approaching the Indus Valley and its monuments primarily from a point of familiarity with the latter two regions, by seeing it as a peripheral area *between* these hegemonic cultural centers, Western art historians have in effect recreated a South Asian variant of the “Orient oder Rom” approach to medieval visual culture.

Pointing as they do toward the heterogeneity of Ghūrid architecture, the Ghūrid monuments of the Panjāb highlight the need to develop a more nuanced approach to questions of style, to think in terms of categories that are regional and chronological rather than sectarian and dynastic.<sup>116</sup> Here we might usefully borrow from some of the terminology developed by architectural historians in their work on medieval Hindu temples. It seems to me that Michael Meister’s differentiation between style (defined as “an accumulation of general characteristics that reflect a broad cultural grouping”), idiom (defined as “local traditions rooted in the work of local artisans, traditions which endure even as political authority shifts or declines”), and mode (defined primarily as a building type) is particularly relevant to monuments such as the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd.<sup>117</sup> While the paucity of surviving monuments renders any discussion of style or styles in the Indus Valley problematic, the tomb of Sādan Shahīd is evidence for the ability of Panjābī craftsmen to render what *may* have been new or foreign modalities (in this case the domed tomb)

in a local idiom, an arrangement that was evidently acceptable to their Ghūrid patrons.

The form and decoration of Shaykh Sādan’s tomb bear witness to the endurance of Indus Valley architectural traditions and to their receptivity to decorative concepts and stylistic influences from the Muslim west. In the construction of the Ghūrid tombs in the Panjāb, Ghūrid patrons drew on skills honed within a well-developed local architectural tradition, the strength of which was greater than sectarian cultural differences. This tradition was clearly by no means alien to the tastes of those for whom the tombs were constructed, for the contemporaneous reception of Indic elements in Ghūrid architecture indicates that the Indus Valley monuments are not merely the product of a utilitarian compromise between the aspirations of their patrons and the conceptual dexterity or artistic skills of their builders. On the contrary, the development of an architectural style characterized both by the assimilation of Ghūrid forms and concepts and the consequent transformation of certain elements within the local architectural repertoire was clearly a collaborative project between patron and craftsman, perhaps even between craftsmen trained in quite different traditions.<sup>118</sup> They thus provide a very concrete affirmation of the fact that, in order to prosper, the new political regime fostered a degree of continuity in the cultural life of the subcontinent that was greater than has sometimes been acknowledged.<sup>119</sup> For this very reason we should be wary of dwelling on the nature of proclamation while neglecting the degree of accommodation, of confusing rhetoric with reality. □

## Notes

I would like to express my gratitude to the Barakat Trust for a travel grant, which enabled me to visit the Indus Valley in the spring of 1997 and to Dr. Niaz Rasool of the Department of Archaeology and Museums in Karachi for his invaluable assistance with visiting the various sites in the region. My thanks are also due to the staff in the offices of the Department of Archaeology in Multān and Peshawar for their help and hospitality. Much of the research for this article was undertaken while I held



a Visiting Fellowship at the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Harvard University, during the summer of 1997; it is based on a paper presented at the end of my stay there.

1. They consist primarily of the early Islamic mosque at Banbhore in Sind and the Ghaznavid mosque excavated on Mount Rājā Girā in Swāt: M. A. Ghafur, "Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions of Banbhore: The Site of Daybul," *Pakistan Archaeology* 3 (1966): 65–90; S. M. Ashfaq, "The Grand Mosque of Banbhore," *Pakistan Archaeology* 6 (1969): 203; Muhammad Nazir Khan, "A Ghaznavid Historical Inscription from Uḍḡrām, Swāt," *East and West*, n.s. 35 (1985): 153–66; Umberto Scerrato, "Research on the Archaeology and History of Islamic Art in Pakistan: Excavation of the Ghaznavid Mosque on Mt. Rājā Girā, Swāt," *East and West*, n.s. 35 (1985): 439–50. Although no monumental epigraphy was found in the mosque excavated at Maṣūra in Sind, the spectacular large bronze door knockers of the tenth-century *dār al-imāra* there bore Kufic inscriptions combining historical and religious themes: Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Al-Mansurah: A Forgotten Arab Metropolis in Pakistan* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1995), 42–55. More recently, further evidence for the use of monumental epigraphy in mosques of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has come to light in the Indus Delta: see nn. 99–100 below. Monumental epigraphy was also a standard element in the mosques and funerary monuments erected by Muslim communities living in the neighboring Hindu polities of Gujarat, to judge from the twelfth-century monuments of Bhadrēśvar: Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Bhadrēśvar: The Oldest Islamic Monuments in India* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 53–59. Note that inscriptions from various secular structures erected between the ninth and eleventh centuries have been found in northern and northwestern Pakistan: Muhammad Hamid, "A Kufic Inscription from Hund," *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1921–22: 1; Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, "A Kufic Inscription from the Sarada Museum," *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1925–26: 27–28; M. A. Shakur, *A Handbook to the Inscriptions Gallery in the Peshawar Museum* (Peshawar, 1946), nos. 7, 49, pp. 9–11, 43–45; Abdul Hai Habibi, "The Oldest Muslim Inscription in Middle Asia," *The Museums Journal* 6.1–2 (1954): 70–75; *idem*, "Peshawar Museum Inscription No. 7: Jurjan or Juzian," *The Museums Journal* 6.1–2 (1954): 76–77; Ahmad Hasan Dani, Helmut Humbach, and Robert Gobl, "Tochi Valley Inscriptions in the Peshawar Museum," *Ancient Pakistan* 1 (1964): 125–30.

2. As noted by Holly Edwards, "The Ribāt of 'Alī b. Karmākh," *Iran* 29 (1991): 94. The presence of what may be pseudo-epigraphy in the brick ornament of some of the medieval tombs at Aror in northern Sind and in the necropolis of Lāl Mahra Sharif in the North-West Frontier Province (see nn. 25 and 80 below) suggests that, in general, the idea of script was more important than actual legibility.

3. For an overview of the problem, see Holly Edwards's excellent doctoral thesis: "The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990). See

also n. 80 below. The tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd came to the attention of scholars only recently, too late to be included in Holly Edwards's study. It has been suggested, on historical rather than art historical grounds, that a small stone tomb at Zairan in the North-West Frontier Province is Ghaznavid in date, which would therefore make it the earliest known funerary monument to survive in the subcontinent: Abdur Rahman, "Saif ad-Dawla Mahmud and His Tomb in Zairan," *Journal of Central Asia* 12.1 (1989): 79–88.

4. Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Naked Brick Architecture of Early [sic] Islamic Period of Pakistan: An Analytical Study," *Pakistan Archaeology* 23 (1987–88): 307–11; Abdul Aziz Farooq, "Mosque or Khālid Walid's Tomb (A Ghorid Monument, Khanewal District)," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 36 (1988): 243–54; Ahmad Nabi Khan, "The Musallah-Mehrab of Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries at Kabirwala and Pakpatan," *Pakistan Archaeology* 24 (1989): 239–45; Taj Ali, "The Mehrab-Inscription of the So-called Tomb of Khalid Walid near Kabirwala (Khanewal District)," *Ancient Pakistan* 7 (1991): 39–46; Edwards, "Ribāt," 85–94; Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Islamic Architecture of Pakistan: An Analytical Exposition* (Islamabad: National Hijra Council, 1990), 75–77. The foundation inscription was looted from the monument within the past decade but was apparently recovered and is now in storage.

5. Such as those near Arōr in northern Sind, which have generally been dated to the twelfth or early thirteenth century: see n. 25 below.

6. See n. 74 below.

7. Attention was first drawn to the existence of the monument just over a decade ago: Talib Hussain, "A Magnificent Monument of the Balban Period," *Pakistan Times*, 5 June 1987, magazine section, i and v. Since then several brief descriptions have been published: Nabi Khan, "Naked Brick Architecture," 317–21; Ali Mohammad Laundkhore, "Visit to the Tomb of Shaikh Sa'adan Shaheed," *Archeology* 1.1 (1988): 60–61; Nabi Khan, *Islamic Architecture*, 82–86; Taj Ali, "Tomb of Shāikh Sādan Shāhid, Its Decoration," *Ancient Pakistan* 8 (1993): 133–38; Monique Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale: Les mausolées islamiques du Sind et du sud Penjab," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 1–2 (1996): 143–49. Curiously, unlike the tomb of Khālid Walid and many other medieval monuments in the region, the monument is not mentioned in any of the local colonial-era gazetteers, even though it lies just one kilometer east of the main Muzaffargarh-Jhang road.

8. Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale," 149–68.

9. See n. 46 below.

10. As will become clear later, I am using *transculturation* in place of the more common *acculturation* to indicate that this was a bilateral process of artistic exchange, with Ghūrid patrons incorporating Indic elements into the monuments that they built

in Afghanistan, even as Indus Valley craftsmen were receptive to contemporary Ghūrīd forms and idioms. As a result of my research on the Indo-Ghūrīd monuments of the Indus Valley, I am currently undertaking a reevaluation of all the surviving Indian and Pakistani monuments of the period. The study emphasizes the value of Indo-Ghūrīd monuments as indices of cultural continuity in South Asia rather than symbols of rupture; its working title is *Translated Stones: Rewriting Indo-Muslim Monuments*. See also nn. 44, 116, and 119 below.

11. H. G. Franz, "Der indische Terrassentempel," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), 166–78; J. A. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind," *South Asian Archaeology* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 157–61, figs. 3–4. Note the latter's suggestion (p. 153) that some of the Sindi stupas continued in use as late as the tenth century. See also Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale," 160–62.

12. George Michell, "Pilastered Walls on Indian Stūpas and Temples," in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemand (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), 59–71. For two Panjabi examples see figs. 2–4.

13. Michael W. Meister, "Temples along the Indus," *Expedition* 38.3 (1996): 46.

14. The best examples of this feature are to be found in the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā' and in the Mosque of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn in Cairo: Bernard O'Kane, "The *Ziyāda* of the Mosque of al-Hākīm and the Development of the *Ziyāda* in Islamic Architecture," in *L'Égypte fatimide: Son art et son histoire: Actes du colloque organisé à Paris les 28, 29 et 30 mai 1998*, ed. Marianne Barrucand (Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 141–58. Among the Indo-Ghūrīd or early Sultanate mosques that have stepped approaches are the "Quwwat al-Islām" in Delhi, the Aḥḥāi dīn kā Jhomprā Mosque at Ajmīr, and the mosque at Khatū in Rājasthān. In Delhi, Sulṭān Ghārī—the early thirteenth-century tomb believed to be that of Maḥmūd, the son of Iltutmish—is also built upon an elevated terrace with a steeply stepped entrance.

15. M. A. Dhaky, "The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad* 3 (1961): 18–23, pl. 3 a–b; M. A. Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Chandra, 157, figs. 25–27.

16. Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale," 166–68, figs. 40–41.

17. Meister, "Temples along the Indus," 46. For the history of the *gavākṣa* and *pūrṇaghaṭa* forms, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture III: Palace," *Eastern Art* 3 (1931): 195–96, 199–203; Krishna Gairola, "Évolution des pūrṇa ghaṭa (vase d'abondance) dans l'Inde et l'Inde extérieure," *Arts*

*Asiatiques* 1 (1954): 209–26; Sergiu al-George and Arion Roșu, "Pūrṇa Ghaṭa et le symbolisme du vase dans l'Inde," *Arts Asiatiques* 4 (1957): 243–54; Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale," 157–59. The use of such forms in this context follows a precedent established in the medieval *śāstras*, which recommend their use for temple windows: Prasanna Kumar Acharya, trans., *Architecture of Manasara*, vol. 4 (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1980), 336. See also Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), 2:318–21.

18. B. R. Branfill, "Vijnōt and Other Old Sites in N. E. Sindh," *The Indian Antiquary* 11 (1882): 4, fig. 17.

19. George Michell, *The Hindu Temple: An Introduction to Its Meaning and Forms* (London: Elek, 1977), 139, fig. 77.

20. B. D. Mirchandani, "Sun-Temple of Multan," *Journal of Indian History* 46 (1968): 209–16; Yohanan Friedmann, "The Temple of Multān: A Note on Early Muslim Attitudes to Idolatry," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 176–82; M. Abdulla Chaghatai, "The Ancient Temple at Multan," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 12 (1975): 13–21; Derryl N. Maclean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 134–37.

21. W. S. Talbot, "An Ancient Hindu Temple in the Panjāb," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1903): 335–38; Branfill, "Vijnōt," 7–8; Madho Sarup Vats, "Pattan Munara," *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports 1926–27*: 108–10; Anon., "Exploration," *Pakistan Archaeology* 5 (1968): 11; Abdul Rehman, "Hindu Shahiya Temples of the Salt Range: A Preliminary Analysis," in *Temples of the Koh-e-Jud and Thar: Proceedings of the Seminar on Hindu Shahiya Temples of the Salt Range Held in Lahore, Pakistan, June 1989* (Lahore, 1989), 39–40. The Paṭṭan Munāra temple will be discussed in a forthcoming article by Michael Meister that was not yet published at the time this went to press: "Pattan Munāra, Minār or Mandir?," in *Sarkar Commemoration Volume*. Some temples of the tenth and eleventh centuries in neighboring Rājasthān have brick superstructures built on stone walls: R. C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Temples of Rājasthān," *Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1965): 56, fig. 13. For general parallels in northern Indian brick temples further removed from the Indus Valley, see Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale," 165–66.

22. Robert Hillenbrand, "The Development of Saljuq Mausolea in Iran," in *The Art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th Century A.D.*, ed. William Watson, *Colloquies in Art and Architecture in Asia* no. 4 (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1974), 41–44; Edwards, "Genesis," 105–8.

23. L. Rempel, "The Mausoleum of Isma'īl the Samanid," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Architecture* 4.4 (1936): 203. The same feature appears in an eleventh- or twelfth-century mausoleum known as that of Bābā Hatīm near Balkh in northwest Afghanistan: Assadullah Souren Melikian-



Chirvani, "Baba Hatem: Un chef d'oeuvre inconnu d'époque ghaznévide en Afghanistan," *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology 11th–18th April 1968* (Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Arts, 1972), 2:108–9, fig. 1.

24. H. G. Franz, "Ambulatory Temples in Buddhism and Hinduism," *South Asian Archaeology* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 449, figs. 5–8; Abdur Rahman and Sardar Mohammad, "Balo Kile Gunbad (Swat) and Early Medieval Architecture of N.W.F.P.," *Central Asia* 15 (Winter 1984): 131. For the flowering of a school of art in the area at around this time, see n. 91 below.

25. Nabi Khan, "Naked Brick Architecture," 311–16; Edwards, "Genesis," 387–400.

26. For the Buddhist stupa, see Giuseppe de Marco, "The Stūpa as a Funerary Monument: New Iconographical Evidence," *East and West* 37 (1987): 191–246, esp. 241. Note also that the tradition of memorializing the dead, especially fallen warriors, was established among the Hindus of western India before the Muslim conquest of the twelfth century: see n. 107 below.

27. See, for example, the squinches in Talkhatan Bābā in the Merv Oasis: F. B. Flood, "The International Merv Project—A Preliminary Report on the First Season (1992): Islamic Buildings Survey," *Iran* 31 (1993): 58, pl. XVIIa.

28. Anna Maksimovna Pribytkova, *Stroitel'naia Kul'tura Srednei Azii v. IX–XII vv.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Literatur'i po Stroitel'stvi, 1973), 69–70, figs. 77, 79.

29. For a general description of the transitional zone in the Kallar temple, see Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, "The Origin and Development of Arch Construction in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent in Muslim Period," *The Museums Journal* 7 (1955): 20.

30. The origin of the arch in Indus Valley architecture is a complex and contentious issue, discussed in the article referred to in the preceding note. For a more recent overview and a concise discussion of both the evidence for Khurāsāni influence and the arch in the architecture of the Indus Valley, see Edwards, "Genesis," 116–18, 125–16.

31. The various temples of the Salt Range are currently being investigated by a joint Pakistani-American team: see Meister "Temples along the Indus"; *idem*, "Temples of the Salt Range," in *Religion, Ritual and Royalty*, ed. N. K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi (Jaipur: Rawat, 1999), 132–39; *idem*, "Discovery of a New Temple on the Indus," *Expedition* 42 (2000): 37–46. The best study of the Hindu Shāhīs, the extent of their empire, and their historical importance is that of Abdur Rahman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Shāhīs: An Analysis of Their History, Architecture, Coinage and Palaeography* (Islamabad: Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1979).

32. See nn. 25 and 80. The bricks of the Paṭṭan Munāra temple

measure 28 × 15 × 6 cms. Those of Kallar are closer in size to the bricks used in Shaykh Sādan's tomb, measuring 21 × 16 × 4 cms.

33. For this anomalous feature in Ghūrīd architecture, see Robert Hillenbrand, "The Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids," in *The Sultan's Turret: Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 2: *Studies in Persian and Turkish Culture*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 202. Note that the *ribāʿ* of 'Alī b. Karmākh/tomb of Khālid Walid follows quite a different *qibla* orientation, one that lies almost exactly due southwest. This fact might be used to support the suggestion (made by Edwards, "Ribāʿ," 87) that the structure is a pre-Ghūrīd one, which was adapted for funerary use. To judge from published plans, the *qibla* of the early Islamic mosque at Banbhore is due west, while that used in the mosque at Manṣūra lies 26 degrees south of west.

34. In the mausoleum of Bābā Hatīm, for example: see n. 23 above.

35. Umberto Scerrato, "Summary Report on the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan II: The Two Excavation Campaigns at Ghazni 1957–58," *East and West*, n.s. 10 (1959): fig. 26. Gaston Wiet, "Les coupoles de Tshisht," in A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam: La découverte de la capitale des sultans ghorides (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)*, *Memoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* 16 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1959), 69–70, pl. VIII2–3; Kervran, "Entre l'Inde et l'Asie Centrale," 155–57, fig. 26.

36. Maricq and Wiet, *Djam*, pl. VII3.

37. Hillenbrand, "Ghaznavids and Ghurids," 173.

38. Sheila S. Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 184. Note that cursive was also used for the foundation inscription of the Ghaznavid mosque at Uḡeḡrām in Swāt: Khan, "Ghaznavid Historical Inscription," 154–57, fig. 1.

39. Paul Horn, "Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Sūba of Dihli," *Epigraphica Indica* 2 (1894): 430.

40. Edwards, "Ribāʿ," 86–87.

41. Ralph Pinder-Wilson, "The Minaret of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni," in *idem*, *Studies in Islamic Art* (London: Pindar Press, 1985), 92; Michael Fishbein, trans., *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 8: *The Victory of Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 72, 82–83; G. R. Hawting, "Al-Ḥudaybiyya and the Conquest of Mecca: A Reconsideration of the Tradition about the Muslim Takeover of the Sanctuary," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 13–23.

42. That the epigraphic ornament of pre-Sultanate religious architecture in the subcontinent could be carefully selected to reflect contemporary concerns may be demonstrated by reference

to the Kufic inscriptions of the 'Abbāsīd period found in the Great Mosque of Banbhore; these amount to a sophisticated commentary on the Mu'tazilite controversy, which was preoccupying the theologians of Baghdād and the eastern Islamic world at this time: Ghafur, "Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions," 86, 90.

43. Robert Hillenbrand, "Qur'anic Epigraphy in Medieval Islamic Architecture," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 54 (1986): 174; *idem*, "Ghaznavid and Ghurid Architecture," 202.

44. Pinder-Wilson, "Minaret of Mas'ūd III," 92. See also my forthcoming paper, "Between Ghazna and Delhi: Lahore and Its Lost Minār," in *Afghan and Islamic Studies Presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, ed. Warwick Ball.

45. Janine Sourdél-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar, une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride: 1B Le décor nonfiguratif et les inscriptions*, *Memoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* 18 (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1978), 42–43.

46. Michael J. Casimir and Bernt Glatzer, "Kurzmitteilung über eine bisher unbekannte Ghoridische moschee in Badghis, Afghanistan," *Zentralasiatischen Studien* 5 (1971): 191–97; *idem*, "Šāh-i Mašhad: A Recently Discovered Madrasah of the Ghurid Period in Ġarġistān (Afghanistan)," *East and West*, n.s. 21 (1971): 53–67; Bernt Glatzer, "The Madrasah of Shah-i-Mashhad in Badgis," *Afghanistan* 25.4 (1973): 45–68. Note that these authors cite two conflicting foundation dates as being specified in the foundation inscription: the date of 561/1165–66 given in *East and West* was amended without comment to 571/1175, the date now generally accepted, in the article published two years later in *Afghanistan*. Such uncertainty on fundamental points highlights just how poorly known the Ghūrīd architecture of Afghanistan itself is, underscoring the importance of the monuments that have recently come to light in Pakistan.

47. Casimir and Glatzer, "Šāh-i Mašhad," 67; Glatzer, "Madrasah of Shah-i Mashhad," 67.

48. George S. A. Ranking, trans., *Muntakh abu-l-Tawārikh by 'Abdu-l-Qādir ibn-i-mulūk Shāh Known as Al-Badāoni* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1898), 66; Major H. G. Raverty, trans., *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia Including Hindustan* (rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1970), 1:449; H. Beveridge, trans., *The Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi of Yāḥiyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindi* (rpt. Delhi: Durga Publications, 1986), 5–6. Firishta is alone among the medieval historians in dating the capture of Multān and Uchch to 572/1176: John Briggs, trans., *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, 4 vols. (rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1981), 1:94–95.

49. J. A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 22 (Calcutta: Government

of India, Central Publication Branch, 1926), 31; Pinder-Wilson, "Minaret of Mas'ūd," 100; Anthony Welch, "Qur'ān and Tomb: Epigraphs of Two Early Sultanate Tombs in Delhi," in *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, ed. Frederick M. Asher and G. S. Gai (New Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1985), 260.

50. See Edwards, "Ribāt," 88–89; Michael W. Meister, "Mystifying Monuments," *Seminar* 364 (December 1989): 27. Although it is frequently assumed that such quotations were in some sense addressed to the non-Muslim populations of recently conquered areas, this seems highly unlikely, not least because it can hardly be taken as a given that large numbers of the local population were both literate and literate in Arabic. For a discussion of the problems associated with this issue, see Finbarr Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 224–25.

51. Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, "The Gōrids: History, Culture, and Administration 543–612/1148–1215–16," (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1960), 49. I am grateful to Professor Richard Frye for his assistance in obtaining access to a copy of this manuscript.

52. Ernst Cohn-Wiener, "A Turanic Monument of the Twelfth Century A.D.," *Ars Islamica* 6 (1939): 89, fig. 7; Melikian-Chirvani, "Baba Hatem," 114, 118; Chahryar Adle and Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Les monuments du XIe siècle du Dāmḡān," *Studia Iranica* 1.2 (1972): 255; Sourdél-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar*, 10, 13–15, 32, 55–57; Ralph Pinder-Wilson, "Le mihrab décorée de Darra-i-Shākh/Gorzivān," *Studia Iranica* 9.1 (1980): 92, fig. 14; Casimir and Glatzer, "Šāh-i Mašhad," figs. 24, 33; Janine Sourdél-Thomine, "À propos du cenotaphe de Mahmud a Ghazna (Afghanistan)," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Mazda: Malibu, 1981), 130; Charles K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: Some Early Islamic Buildings and Their Decoration* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 108–10, color pl. 17; Bernard O'Kane, "The Minaret of Vabkent," in *The Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Edinburgh in 1982*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Mazda: Malibu, 1984), 47–48. Single occurrences of the phrase are found on Yemeni textiles as early as the tenth century: Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., inventory numbers 73.59–60. It seems to have been particularly popular in funerary contexts, for in addition to its appearance in various eastern Iranian mausolea, it is also rendered in Kufic on a tombstone of the early Sultanate period from Lādnūn in western Rājasthān: *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (1969–70), D 420.

53. At Nishāpūr and Lashkar-i Bāzār, for example: Sourdél-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar*, pls. 144k, 145e and f; Wilkinson, *Nishapur*, 108–9, fig. 1.196. Ovoid cartouches containing the same phrase appear on the columns supporting the arches depicted on the cenotaph of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī: Sourdél-Thomine, "À propos du cenotaphe," figs. 1–4.



54. Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, 1:38, 95, 249; Michael W. Meister, "Śiva's Forts in Central India: Temples in Dakṣiṇā Kosala and Their "Daemonic" Plans," in *Discourses on Śiva: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery*, ed. Michael W. Meister (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 138–39.
55. Sheila S. Blair, "The Madrasa at Zuzan: Islamic Architecture in Eastern Iran on the Eve of the Mongol Invasions," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 85.
56. Among the many examples, see Michell, *Hindu Temple*, 91. See also n. 17 above.
57. Michael W. Meister, M. A. Dhaky, and Krishna Deva, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, vol. 2, pt. 1: *North India: Foundations of North Indian Style c. 250 B.C.–A.D. 1100* (Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1988), pls. 165, 169, 286, 316, 319, etc..
58. M. A. Dhaky, "Reflections on the Terminology and Gloss in 'The Structural Temples of Gujarat'," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 15 (1973): 30, fig. 13. The conjunction of this feature with a broad basal frieze featuring triangular elements in Shaykh Sādan's tomb finds a particularly close parallel in temple number 4 at Rajorgarh, northeast of Jaipur, dated 925–50: M. A. Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, vol. 2, pts. 3–4: *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. 900–1000* (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1998), 353, fig. 185, pl. 784.
59. B. A. Litvinskij, "Kalai-Kafirnigan—Problems in the Religion and Art of Early Medieval Tokharistan," *East and West* 31 (1981): 54; Franz, "Ambulatory Temples."
60. Michael D. Willis, "An Eighth Century Mihrāb in Gwalior," *Artibus Asiae* 46 (1985): 230.
61. For Mūrti, see Aurel Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran* (London: Macmillan, 1937), 54–57, pl. 217; Meister et al., *Foundations of North Indian Style*, 56, pls. 96–97.
62. For a particularly close parallel, see n. 58 above. There is an evident flexibility in the use of such repetitious triangular ornament in temple architecture, for it could appear on either the *jagati* or the *piṭha*, as a broad flat band either below (Sūrya Temple No. 1 at Osiān) or above (Sūrya Temple No. 2 at Osiān) the convex moldings used to articulate both: Meister et al., *Foundations of North Indian Style*, fig. 64, pls. 120, 520, 554. The origins of this form of decoration lie much earlier, for a similar feature, albeit rendered on a much smaller scale, is incorporated into the base moldings of the Buddhist stupa at Sarnath: James Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1891), fig. on p. 68.
63. At either end of the geographical spectrum in which such ornament occurs are a funerary stele from Dahlak in the Red Sea, dated 450/1058, and the cenotaph of Sultan Maḥmūd at Ghazna, which probably dates from the Ghūrid period: Madeleine Schneider, *Stèles funéraires Musulmans des îles Dahlak (mer rouge)*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1983), pl. LXXXIX; S. Flury, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna," *Syria* 6 (1925): 84–85, pl. XXIV; Sourdel-Thomine, "À propos du cenotaphe."
64. Lisa Volov, "Plaited Kufic on Samanid Epigraphic Pottery," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966): 107–33.
65. Pinder-Wilson, "Le mihrab décoré," 97–98, figs. 12–14.
66. Alessio Bombaci, *The Kūfic Inscriptions in Persian in the Court of the Royal Palace of Ma'sūd III at Ghazni* (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 8–9, figs. 6, 9–15, 18–21, 107–8, 137–42.
67. Michael W. Meister, "The 'Two-and-a-Half-Day' Mosque," *Oriental Art* 18.1 (1972): 62; reiterated in *idem*, "Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparāmala," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 344.
68. For a discussion of the characteristic features of Ghūrid architecture, including those mentioned, see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "L'art gūride d'Afghanistan à propos d'un livre récent," *Arabica* 7 (196): 273–80; Hillenbrand, "Ghaznavid and Ghurid Architecture," 202.
69. Brij Bhushan Sharma, "European Sepuchral Architecture in India," *Indica* 12 (1975): 39. For transculturation in Christian tombs of the late medieval and early modern period, see Evan Cotton, "'Hindoo' Stuart," *Bengal Past and Present* 46 (1933): 31–33; Phillip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India 1660 to 1947* (London: J. Murray, 1985), 17–22; Ram Nath, "Medieval Christian Tombs at Agra," in *idem*, *Studies in Medieval Indian Architecture* (New Delhi: MD Publications, 1995), 124. See also the construction of European-style monuments in Goa by Indian masons working under a Portuguese overseer: Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture [A.D. 1498–1707]* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 105.
70. M. C. Joshi, "Some Nagari Inscriptions on the Qutb Minar," *Medieval India: A Miscellany* 2 (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1972) 3–7; Pushpa Prasad, "Hindu Craftsmen in the Delhi Sultanate (An Epigraphic Study)," *Indica* 21 (1984): 11–15.
71. Originally published in M. A. Dhaky, "Māru-Gurjara Vāstu-Śāstra mān maṣjid-Nirmāṇa Vidhi," *Swadhyaya* 8 (1969): 64–79. Translation by Ram Nath, "Rehmanā-Prāsāda—A Chapter on the Muslim Mosque from the *Vṛkṣārṇava*," *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 15 (1977): 239–40; *idem*, "On the Theory of Indo-Muslim Architecture," in *Shastric Traditions in Indian Art*, vol. 2: *Texts*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989), 199.

72. Dhaky in his Gujarātī article apparently refers to a similar earlier unpublished text, the *Jayaṇṛcchā*: Nath, "Rehmāna-Prāsāda," 239, n. 2; *idem*, "Theory," 198, n. 66.
73. Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, esp. 1–49.
74. Nabi Khan, "Naked Brick Architecture," 318; *idem*, *Islamic Architecture*, 82; Taj Ali, "Tomb of Shaikh Sādan Shahid," 133.
75. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872–73* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1875), 130–31.
76. Edwards, "Ribāt," 86–77.
77. For a discussion, see Edwards, "Genesis," 144–62.
78. Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University, 1983), 199–203; *idem*, *Islamic Architecture*, 105–7. For a discussion of the complex amalgam of history, mythology, and folklore obscuring the identity of the incumbent in one of the most celebrated of the Multāni *mazārs*, see W. Ivanow, "Shams Tabrez of Multan," in *Professor Muḥammad Shafīʿ Presentation Volume*, ed. S. M. Abdullah (Lahore: The Majlis-e-Armughān-e-ʿilmi, 1955), 109–18.
79. M. Geijbels, "Aspects of the Veneration of Saints in Islam, with Special Reference to Pakistan," *The Muslim World* 68 (1978): 177.
80. The date of these important monuments is a matter of some contention and merits a detailed reconsideration. Although Taj Ali dated them to the Ghaznavid period, in view of the extensive use of blue-glazed tiles in such a relatively remote location, this seems too early: *Anonymous Tombs in the Gomal Valley and the Beginning of Tomb Architecture in Pakistan*, Memoirs of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar no. 4 (Peshawar, 1988), 50. In what is perhaps the most extensive and convincing analysis to date, Holly Edwards suggests a date in the thirteenth century, tentatively ascribing the introduction of glazed decoration to the influence of Iranian artisans fleeing the Mongol advance: "Genesis," 231–54. Most recently, Heinz Gaube has suggested a date in the early fourteenth century: "Die Mausoleengruppe in Adheri, NW-Pakistan," in *The Sultan's Turret*, ed. Hillenbrand, 103–7. There is of course no reason to assume that all the tombs in the group were erected simultaneously.
81. One of the problems in dealing with this tomb group is that there is no standard numbering system for the monuments among scholars who have written on them. What I am referring to as Tomb 1 is Taj Ali's Tomb 1, Ahmad Nabi Khan's Tomb 3, and Holly Edwards's Tomb A: Taj Ali, *Anonymous Tombs*, 23, pls. 3–5, 9b; Nabi Khan, *Islamic Architecture*, 170–71, pl. 163; Edwards, "Genesis," 413–19, pls. 37–42. This reduction in the number of blind niches on the southern side of the tomb has gone unremarked in scholarly discussions of the tomb.
82. Edwards, "Genesis," 426.
83. Taj Ali, *Anonymous Tombs*, pls. 27a, 54a.
84. J. Chelhod, "A Contribution to the Problem of the Pre-eminence of the Right, Based upon Arabic Evidence," in *Right and Left*, ed. Rodney Needham (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 247.
85. Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, 1:92–93; Kantilal F. Sonpura, *The Structural Temples of Gujarat [up to 1600 A.D.]* (Ahmedabad: Gujarat University, 1968), 282–87.
86. Upendra Thakur, *Sindhi Culture* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1959), 128. For cases of folkloric tradition exerting an influence on the orientation of temples in central India, see Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho* (Mumbai: Franco-Indian Research, 1996), 83.
87. The association between the south and death may even have found architectural expression in ways other than those discussed above. See, for example, an enigmatic series of two-tiered communal tombs scattered throughout southwestern Balūchistan with entrances on two sides: a doorway on the eastern side, facing the *qibla*, leading to an upper chamber in which it appears that bodies were exposed; and a second low opening in the south façade leading directly to the charnel house in the chamber below: Sh. Khurshid Hasan, "Nausherwani Tombs in Kharan, Baluchistan (Pakistan)," *South Asian Archaeology* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 1195–1209. The date of these tombs is uncertain, but it has been suggested that the idiosyncratic burial practices to which they bear witness represent the syncretic survival of Zoroastrian influence among the Muslim communities of the region. The association between the southern opening and the communal ossuary suggests some connection between orientation and interment. Aspects of the Balūchi tombs hint at a relationship with those in the necropolis of Lāl Mahra Sharif and with an unpublished, undecorated brick tomb at Arōr in northern Sind. The only discussion of the latter building known to me is in Edwards, "Genesis," 380–86.
88. Umberto Scerrato, "Islamic Glazed Tiles with Moulded Decoration from Ghazni," *East and West*, n.s. 13 (1962): 263–64, figs. 12, 20–21.
89. Vlad Atanasiu, *De la fréquence des lettres et de son influence en calligraphie arabe* (Paris: Harmattan, 1999), 68–72. I am grateful to Dr. Emilie Savage-Smith for this reference.
90. See n. 52 above.
91. The best study of the early Buddhist art and architecture of Pakistan is that of Lolita Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhāran Style: A Study of Contributory Influences* (Delhi: Oxford University



Press, 1989). For the relation between the Indus Valley and western Indian temples, see Meister, "Temples along the Indus," where the continuity with Gandhāran traditions is noted. For the suggestion that a local school of art and architecture blended Gandhāran and Gupta artistic traditions in the Swāt region in the sixth and seventh centuries, see P. G. Paul, "Some Terracotta Plaques from the Swāt-Indus Region: A Little-Known Phase of the Post-Gandhāran Art of Pakistan," in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. Herbert Härtel (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1981), 411–28, esp. 427.

92. Gianroberto Scarcia and Maurizio Taddei, "The Masḡid-i sangī of Larvand," *East and West*, n.s. 23 (1973): 89–108; Warwick Ball, "Some Notes on the Masḡid-i Sangī at Larwand in Central Afghanistan," *South Asian Studies* 6 (1990): 102–10. Note, however, that the northwestern orientation of the building indicated in Ball, fig. 2, would, if correct, militate against this structure having been a mosque.

93. Scarcia and Taddei, "Masḡid-i sangī," 107–8; Ball, "Notes," 109.

94. Flury, "Le décor épigraphique," 84–85, pl. XX; Eugenio Galdieri, *A Few Conservation Problems Concerning Several Islamic Monuments in Ghazni (Afghanistan): Technical Report and Notes on a Plan of Action* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1978), 18, 40 n. 17, fig. 8.

95. For the suggestion that the Masḡid-i sangī was constructed using spolia amassed on one of the Indian campaigns of the Ghūrid sultans, see Klaus Fischer and Jan Pieper, *Architektur des Indischen Subkontinents* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 197. Indian marble statuary was recovered from the Ghaznavid palace at Ghazna, and architectural elements were among the materials brought back from India to be incorporated into the palace and Friday mosque of Firūzkūh, the Ghūrid capital: Raverty, *Ṭabaḡāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 1:404; Umberto Scerrato, "Summary Report on the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan II: The First Two Excavations at Ghazni, 1957–58," *East and West* 10.1–2 (1959): 39–40, fig. 39. See also my forthcoming paper on the topic: n. 119 below. In view of the larger scale of the Masḡid-i sangī, it seems likely that artisans and not just artifacts were brought back to the region from India.

96. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Stèles arabes de Bust (Afghanistan)," *Arabica* 3 (1956): 292–95, pl. IV; Hillenbrand, "Ghaznavid and Ghurid Architecture," pl. 11. For a comparable capital in the Masḡid-i sangī, see Scarcia and Taddei, "Masḡid-i sangī," fig. 3.

97. Discussed in my forthcoming article, "Between Ghazna and Delhi."

98. Max Klimburg, "Blick auf Ghor," *Du* 232 (1960): pl. on p. 44. The same feature occurs frequently in Indus Valley temple architecture, in Temples A and E at Bilot for example: F. A.

Khan, *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan* (Karachi: Elite Publishers, 1969), 143–44.

99. Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series 46 (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1929), 126–27; G. E. L. Carter, "Old Sites on the Lower Indus," *The Indian Antiquary* 61 (1932): 86–90; Monique Kervran, "Vanishing Medieval Cities of the Northwest Indus Delta," *Pakistan Archaeology* 28 (1993): 22–24, pl. V; *idem*, "Le port multiple des bouches de l'Indus: Barabarikē, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhori Bandar, Diul Sinde," *Res Orientales* 8 (1996): 46–47, figs. 9–12, 14. The monument is conceivably later than the tenth- or eleventh-century date ascribed to it in the latter publication, for the vegetal decoration of the mihrab shows close parallels with that of the entrance to Chhoṭī Masḡid further along the coast in Bhadreśvar, which is datable to the second half of the twelfth century: Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, figs. 26–27, pls. 23a, 27. Monique Kervran is currently preparing the Thāmbō Wāri mosque for publication, and I am grateful to her for showing me her photographs and drawings of this important structure.

100. Asma Ibrahim and Kaleem Lashari, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Lower Deltaic Area of Indus," *Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum* 2.1–2 (1993): 15–16, pl. 3; Monique Kervran, "Caravansérails du delta de l'Indus: Réflexions sur l'origine du caravansérail islamique," *Archéologie Islamique* 8–9 (1999): 148–49, fig. 6.

101. See Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, esp. 53–59, for the use of monumental epigraphy.

102. Meister, "Two-and-a-Half-Day' Mosque," 57–63. For quite contrasting interpretations of this and other early Indo-Muslim mosques, see Fritz Lehmann, "The Name and Origin of the Aṭāla Masḡid, Jaunpur," *Islamic Culture* 52.1 (1978): 27; Robert Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmir," *Iran* 26 (1988): 109, 112.

103. I am currently preparing a study of the manner in which such material was reused in Indo-Ghūrid mosques, but see, for example, the reuse of figured panels above the exterior of the window openings of the "Quwwat al-Islām" Mosque in such a way that they face outward, being neither inverted nor concealed in the soffit: R. B. K. N. Dikshit, "A Panel Showing the Birth of Lord Krishna from the Qutb Mosque," *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* 17 (1944): 84–86.

104. Based on the treatment of this sensitive subject in the primary sources, Richard Eaton has recently attempted a detailed analysis that transcends the widespread tendency either to accept accounts of such temple desecration and/or destruction at face value or to reject them out of hand: "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," in *Beyond Hindu and Turk: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamate South Asia*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000), 246–81.

105. For the dangers inherent in such an approach, see Lehmann, "Name and Origin," 19–27.

106. Fritz Lehmann, "Architecture of the Early Sultanate Period and the Nature of the Muslim State in India," *Indica* 15 (1978): 28.

107. Stuart H. Blackburn, "Death and Deification: Folk Cults in Hinduism," *History of Religions* 24.3 (1985): 255–74; Kirit Mankodi, "Scholar-Emperor and a Funerary Temple, Eleventh Century Bhojpur," *Marg* 39.2 (1985): 72.

108. In general, see Sri Ram Sharma, "The Impact of Islam in Medieval India," in *Socio-cultural Impact of Islam on India*, ed. A. Singh (Chandigarh: Publication Bureau, Panjab University, 1976), 53–54; André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, vol. 1: *Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam, 7th–11th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 80. For a good study of transcultural rituals at the shrine of a north Indian *mujāhid*, see Kerrin Graefin v. Schwerin, "Saint Worship in Indian Islam: The Legend of the Martyr Salar Masud Ghazi," in *Ritual and Religion among Muslims of the Sub-continent*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmad (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), 143–61. See also S. Liyaqat H. Moini, "The Hindus and the *Dargah* of Ajmer A.D. 1658–1737: An Overview," in *Art and Culture: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Professor S. Nurul Hasan*, ed. Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Som Prakesh Verma (Jaipur: Publication Scheme, 1993), 155–63. Note also the tradition of employing Hindus to service Muslim shrines, a practice that recalls the role of Jews and Christians in maintaining the Dome of the Rock, the third holiest Muslim shrine, in the early Islamic period: P. Lewis, *Pirs, Shrines and Pakistani Islam* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1985), 80.

109. Edwards, "Genesis," 91. Early studies of religious practice in the Indus Valley also note its syncretic nature: Aubrey O'Brien, "The Mohammedan Saints of the Western Panjab," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 41 (1911): 519; G. E. L. Carter, "Religion in Sind," *The Indian Antiquary* 46 (1917): 205–8; 47 (1918): 197–208. The most remarkable example of the phenomenon is the Shrine of Khwaja Khizr (known by Hindus as Zenda Pir) at Sukkur in northern Sind: for a discussion, see Edwards, "Genesis," 430–36.

110. Two examples illustrate the pitfalls inherent in taking either medieval texts or inscriptions at face value. The first involves the Sun Temple at Multān, which the *Ismā'īlī dā'ī* of Multān boasted of having destroyed in the late tenth century. Such claims appear, however, to be contradicted by travelers' accounts of the temple's continued existence after this date. Derryl Maclean has recently argued quite convincingly that these contradictions should be reconciled by assuming that reports of its destruction "may well have fulfilled a propaganda purpose for the Fātimids and not been representative of actual events occurring in Multān": Maclean, *Religion and Society*, 137. Such destruction may well have taken a variety of token or symbolic forms short of razing the building. In the case of the "Quwwat

al-Islām" Mosque in Delhi (1192 onward), few scholars who cite as a literal fact the destruction of the twenty-seven temples mentioned in the foundation inscription as having furnished building material for the mosque have noted that this figure coincides with the number of *nakṣatras*, the lunar mansions of the Hindu calendar, which could be twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number: Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, 1:31; Meister, "Mystifying Monuments," 25. In the highly charged cultural ambience within which the monument was constructed, this can hardly have been a coincidence and suggests instead that the figure may have been chosen for its symbolic associations.

111. It is not clear whether the position of the river relative to the monuments has changed over the eight centuries since their construction. While some scholars claim that the Chināb has changed its course little over the last millennium, others point out that the river has altered its position relative to Multān quite dramatically several times during the same period. For contrasting views, see R. B. Whitehead, "The River Courses of Panjab and Sind," *The Indian Antiquary* 61 (1932): 169; Herbert Wilhelmy, "The Shifting River: Studies in the History of the Indus Valley," *Humanitas* 10.1 (1967): 60–61. Severe inundation of the Chināb in the early 1970s posed a considerable threat to the tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd, which was saved by the action of the residents of the surrounding villages.

112. As Sheila Blair notes, the patronage of religious monuments in Ghūr was "part of a coordinated campaign to champion Islam . . . both to combat the heathen and to counter internal heresies": Blair, "Madrasa at Zuzan," 83–84. Both motivations are equally relevant to the Panjāb in the late twelfth century.

113. Edwards, "Ribāt," 88.

114. The evidence from various sources has yet to be collated, and I am currently preparing a survey of the architectural, archaeological, literary, and historical evidence for Ghūrīd patronage in western India in the decades before 1206; see n. 10 above. In the meantime see Page, *Memoir*; Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie A. Shokoohy, "The Architecture of Baha al-Din Tughhrul in the Region of Bayana, Rajasthan," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 114–21; Meister, "Two-and-a-Half-Day Mosque"; *idem*, "Indian Islam's Lotus Throne: Kaman and Khatu Kalan," in *Islam and Indian Regions*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 1:445–52; Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism."

115. The available evidence for conversion to Islam in the sub-continent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is vague: Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1:166. For the suggestion that emigration from the Ghūrīd heartlands to the Panjāb was encouraged after the conquest of western India, see Bernard Dorn, *The History of the Afghans Translated from the Persian of Neamet Ullah* (rpt. Karachi, 1976), 40.

116. Although I am aware of the problems inherent in defining a region, it seems to me that a shared visual language, no less



than a shared language, might be a useful criterion. For some relevant issues relating to the definition of region in colonial and postcolonial studies of South Asia, see Bernard S. Cohn, "Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society," in *idem*, *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), 100–135. The origins of the sectarian classification of Indian monuments are discussed in my paper, "Transcribing Ruins, Inscribing Difference: Architectural Photography as Ethnographic Practice in Colonial India." This paper has been presented in summary form in a number of public symposia and conferences between 1999 and 2001 and is currently being prepared for publication.

117. Michael W. Meister, "Bīṭhū: Individuality and Idiom," *Ars*

*Orientalis* 13 (1982): 169; *idem*, "Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparāmala," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 351–52.

118. The decoration of Shaykh Sādan's tomb appears to support Holly Edwards's suggestion that Ghūrid craftsmen and local Panjābi artisans may have collaborated in the construction of the nearby *ribāṭ* of 'Alī b. Karmākh: Edwards, "*Ribāṭ*," 89.

119. This is apparent even in the manner in which the Ghūrid sultans used war booty and architectural spolia. See my forthcoming paper, "Looking at Loot: Spoils, Spolia and the Visual Rhetoric of the Ghūrid Sultans," which was presented in preliminary form at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in January 2001.

# *Kannada Kalla Upparige (Stone Palace): Multistoried Entrance Pavilions in Pre- and Early Vijayanagara Architecture*

## ABSTRACT

The multistoried entrance pavilions introduced here represent a previously unrecognized type of south Indian temple gateway. Unlike the well-known *gōpura* with its inaccessible tower of compressed stories, the entrance pavilions of pre- and early Vijayanagara temple architecture feature three functionally accessible stories and are not attached to a compound wall. Detailed documentation is here presented for five entrance pavilions—three from the Vijayanagara capital and two from the provincial center of Citradurga. Also discussed is a series of Kannada donative inscriptions relating to one of the Citradurga monuments, in which the entrance pavilion is referred to as a *kalla upparige*, literally, “stone palace.” The implications of the name, form, and siting of the monuments, as well as their inevitable association with ancillary ritual structures, suggest that the entrance pavilion was conceived as a secondary ritual arena away from the sanctum, where the god could appear from an upper story.



FIG. 1.  
*Map of south India*  
*showing sites*  
*mentioned in text.*

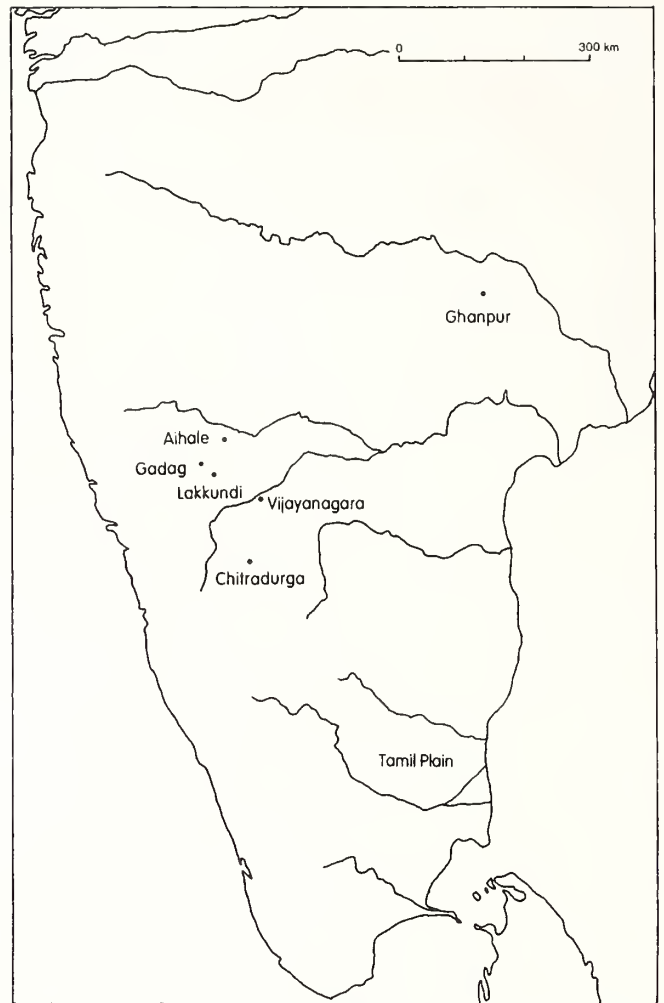


FIG. 2.  
*City of Vijayanagara:*  
*locations of multistoried*  
*entrance pavilions in*  
*"sacred centre."*



THIS ARTICLE introduces a building type that has not previously been recognized in the history of medieval south Indian architecture, the multistoried entrance pavilion.<sup>1</sup> The type is well represented in thirteenth- through fifteenth-century examples, including three that have been documented at the city of Vijayanagara and two in the fort at Citradurga, an important Vijayanagara stronghold under the early Sangamas (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The Citradurga examples are particularly important because they are preserved intact throughout their three stories, and one has a foundation inscription that not only confirms the fourteenth-century date of the monument but also records the name of the building type in Kannada as *kalla upparige*, or “stone palace.”

I will first discuss the characteristic architectural features of the type, then present evidence for the dating of the Vijayanagara and Citradurga examples, and finally turn to the testimony of the Citradurga inscriptions and the ritual functions of the *kalla upparige*.

#### ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The three examples documented at Vijayanagara are all located within what Fritz et al. have termed the city’s “sacred centre” (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> Two are situated in the Hēmakūṭa enclosure on the peak just south of the Virūpākṣa temple (H.7, figs. 3 and 7, and H.36, figs. 4 and 8), while the third is part of the Narasiṃha

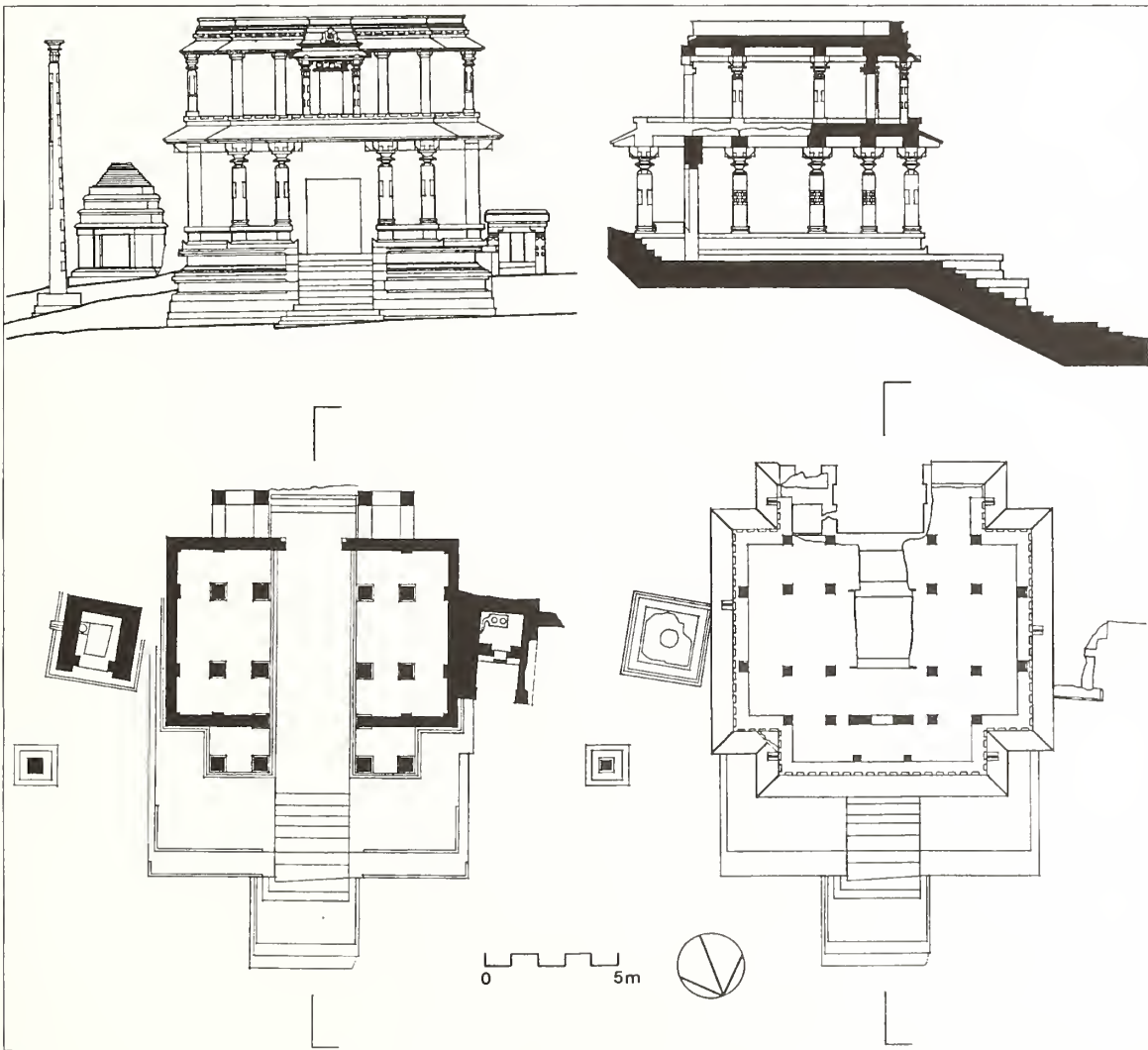


FIG. 3.  
Vijayanagara, H.7: plans (ground and second stories), section, north elevation.



FIG. 4.  
*Vijayanagara, H.36: plans*  
*(ground and second stories),*  
*north elevation.*

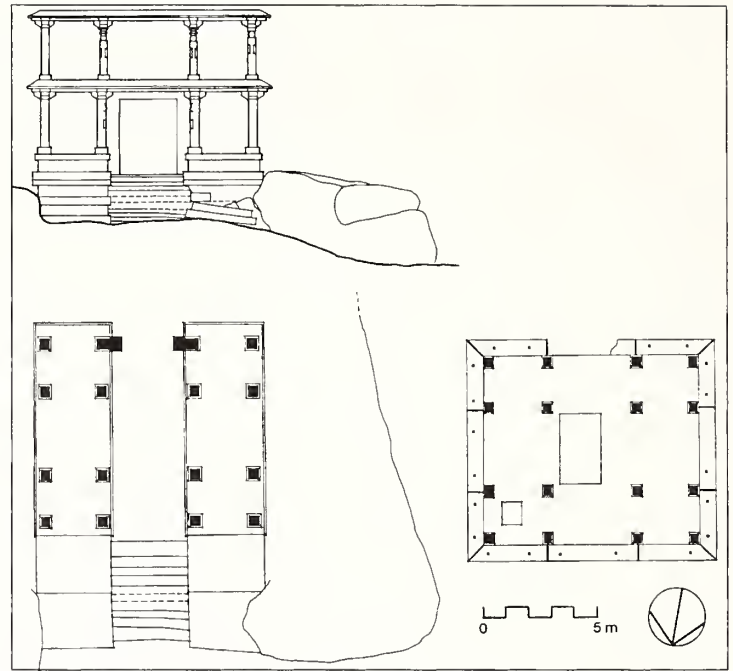
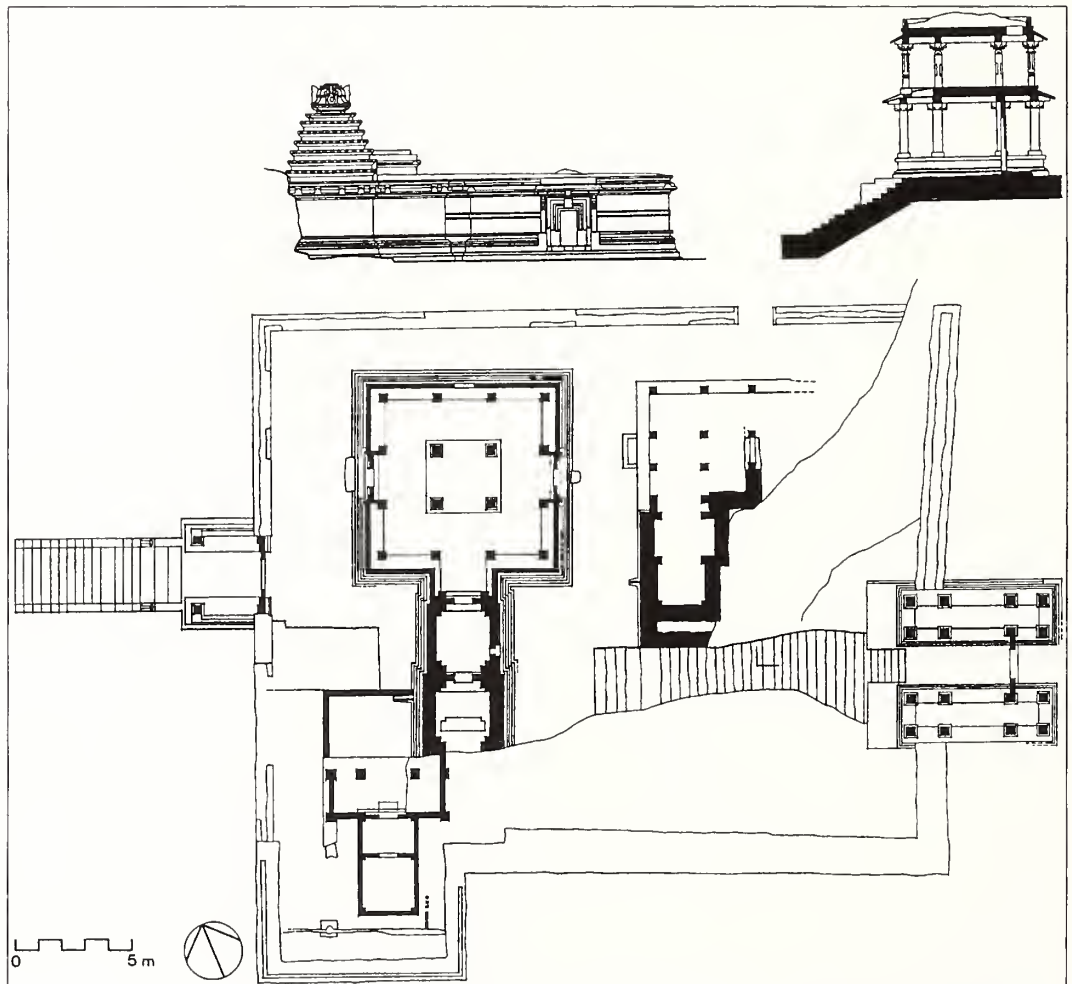


FIG. 5.  
*Vijayanagara,*  
*Narasimha temple:*  
*plan of compound,*  
*section of entrance.*



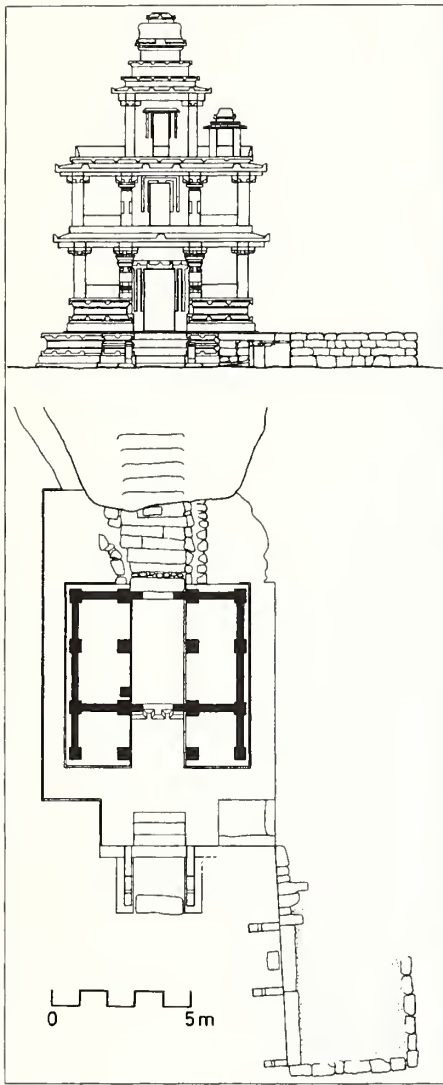


FIG. 6.  
Citradurga, Hiḍimbēśvara temple  
entrance pavilion: plan, south elevation.



FIG. 7.  
H.7, view from southeast, showing associated dīpa-stambha, H.5.



FIG. 8.  
H.36, view from northwest.

temple complex on the south bank of the Tuṅga-bhadra, some 1.5 kilometers east (figs. 5 and 9). The Citradurga examples are adjacent to each other within the fort above Citradurga town and are associated with the Siddhēśvara (fig. 10) and Hiḍimbēśvara (figs. 6 and 11) temples.

Of the five documented structures, only that at Vijayanagara's Narasiṃha temple is clearly articulated with an enclosure wall (*prākāra*; fig. 5). Each of the

other four is freestanding and exhibits no sign of ever having been connected with a *prākāra*. For this reason, it seems inappropriate to speak of them as "gateways," which would suggest an entrance through a *prākāra* wall like the familiar *gōpura*-gateways typical of later Vijayanagara and Nāyaka-period temple complexes. In other respects, however, they are strongly reminiscent of gateways, in that each is clearly subordinated to a temple,<sup>4</sup> each has a passageway





FIG. 9.  
*Narasiṃha temple entrance pavilion with  
monumental steps, view from northwest.*



FIG. 10.  
*Citradurga Siddhēśvara entrance pavilion,  
view from northwest.*

FIG. 11.  
*Citradurga Hiḍimbēśvara  
entrance pavilion, view from  
southwest with "stone swing"  
visible to right and temple in  
distance to left.*



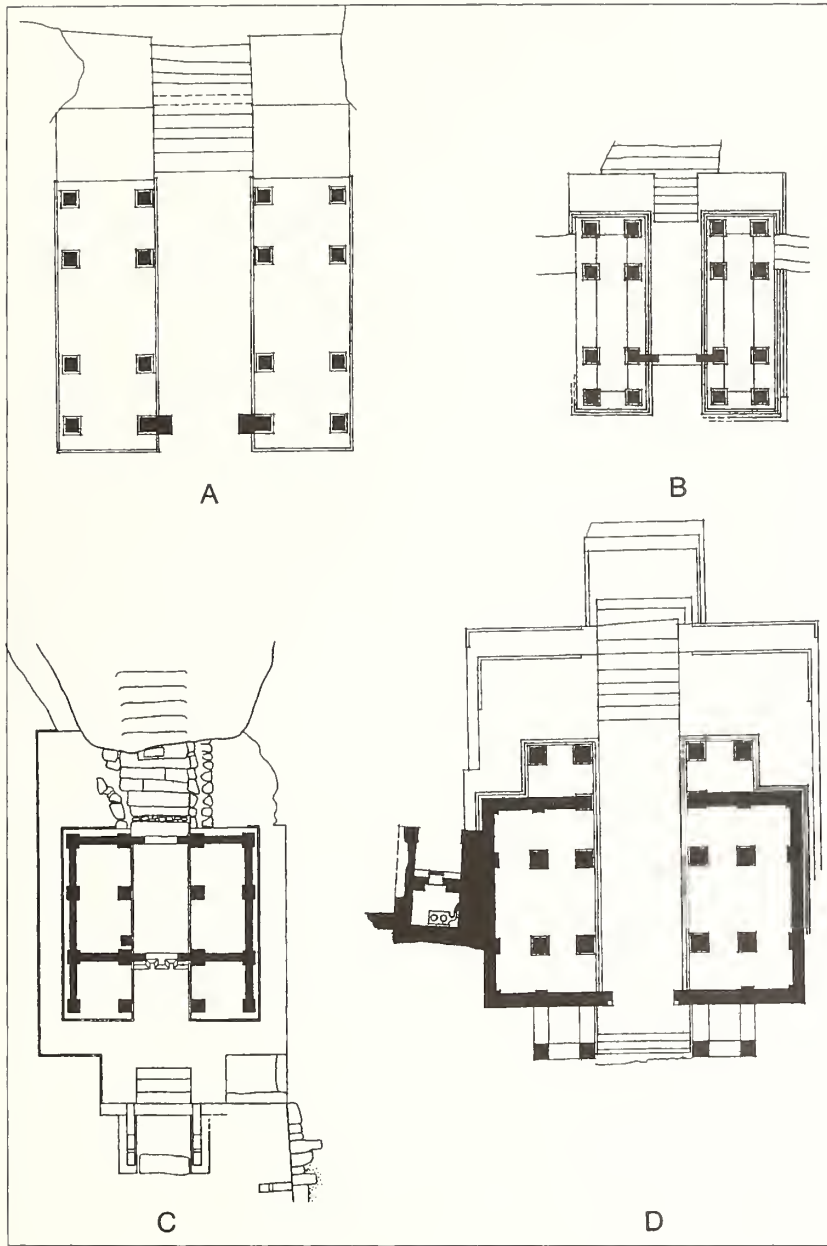


FIG. 12.

*Comparative ground-story plans of entrance pavilions: (A) H.36, (B) Narasiṃha, (C) Citradurga Hiḍimbēśvara, and (D) H.7.*

leading between raised platforms on either side, and each is fitted with a doorway framing the entrance to the passageway (fig. 12). All this suggests that the type is at one level conceived as a monumental "entrance," even if the entry thus provided leads to a ritually defined space, as opposed to a physically delineated precinct bounded by an architectural enclosure wall. For these reasons, the designation "entrance pavilion" seems more appropriate.

With the single exception of the Citradurga Siddhēśvara temple's entrance pavilion, all examples

of the type documented to date are oriented approximately north.<sup>5</sup> Each is built south of the temple or shrine to which it leads and is closed by a doorway at or near the southern end of its passageway, the door leaves originally having opened inward to the north. (None is preserved, but their disposition is clearly indicated by the placement of stone hinge sockets in the doorframe.) The northern orientation is further accentuated in each case by the provision of a monumental flight of steps just outside the pavilion to the north, which marks the beginning of the continuing





FIG. 13.  
*Citradurga Hidimbēśvara entrance pavilion,  
view from west.*

approach to the shrine. In all three examples at Vijayanagara, the stairways descend down to the shrine, which is at a lower level; in the two Citradurga examples the stairways ascend up to the shrines. The Citradurga Siddhēśvara pavilion shares all these features with the other examples of the type, except that it is oriented southward toward its temple.

In all but the latest example (H.7), the ground floor is square in plan and is composed of a  $3 \times 3$  grid of nine bays (fig. 12A,B,C). The corner bays are inevitably the smallest, and the central bay is the largest; both alike are always square (an exception being H.36, in which the corner bays are slightly compressed rectangles), while the four side bays take the form of intermediate-sized rectangles. The design of H.7 is produced by adding to this basic unit three additional bays projecting on each side so as to create a cross-plan with receding corners (fig. 12D). The lateral extensions are walled in and integrated within the space of the core unit, while the front and back extensions are treated as open-pillared porches. In three examples (H.7 and the two pavilions from Citradurga) the ground floor is walled with large stone infill slabs fitted between adjacent structural columns, which are simple square shafts with projecting bracket capitals (fig. 7). In H.36, there is evidence that the ground floor was once walled in, possibly with

FIG. 14.  
*H.7, floor of second story,  
showing remnants of plastered  
brick partition wall between  
stone column shafts.*





FIG. 15.  
H.7, second story, doorway leading into central core  
from northern porch.

brick (stucco traces are found on the inner and outer faces of the square column shafts but not on the sides). It is unclear what the original disposition of the Vijayanagara Narasimha pavilion's ground floor would have been, whether walled or unwalled.

The second story is well preserved in each case. Here the design varies more significantly. In the simplest design, embodied in H.36 and both Citradurga pavilions, the second story replicates the plan of the ground floor, with the same disposition of pillars used to produce an identical layout of nine bays. In the Hiḍimbēśvara pavilion, this second story is walled in with stone slabs in the same manner as the ground floor (fig. 13). The original wall treatment of the second story of H.36 is unclear: it may have been brick as in the lower floor, yet most columns on this level

are not square shafts but have complex *citrakhaṇḍa* profiles with multiple capitals, suggesting that the intervening spaces were probably not filled in (fig. 8). Yet the projecting *chāḍya* eaves sheltering both stories have the unusual feature of paired, perforated holes (one at the end of each bay; fig. 4), which suggests the possibility that the second story was screened by fabric partitions, possibly supported on cords tied between the upper and lower eaves. The second story of the Citradurga Siddhēśvara pavilion features an open-pillared verandah running continuously around a central solid-walled chamber with axial doorways (fig. 10).

The second story of the Vijayanagara Narasimha temple's pavilion is slightly more complex in conception. Here the four outer corner pillars are eliminated, leaving a cruciform arrangement of twelve pillars (fig. 9). This plan produces a square central chamber with double-pillared porchlike extensions on each side. The central "chamber" and projecting porches alike appear to have been unwalled since all columns here are *citrakhaṇḍa* in form. *Praṇāla* drainspouts project out from the low parapet wall capping the eaves of the story below in order to drain rainwater that would have collected in the four unroofed corner sections.

The most elaborate design is that of H.7 (fig. 3). Sixteen pillars are placed above those defining the lower story's nine central bays; the twelve in the outermost circuit have square shafts and were originally connected by a solid brick wall (traces of the lowest courses of which survive in several of the bays; fig. 14). The four inner columns defining the central bay are *citrakhaṇḍa*. Eight additional columns are placed in pairs centered over the projecting side bays of the ground story, producing open-pillared porches that project from the enclosed central core. Doorways lead from the north and south porches into the enclosed central chamber (fig. 15); there are no traces of any doorways connecting the chamber with the two lateral porches.

Although none of the Vijayanagara examples presently bears traces of any further stories, both Citradurga examples are completed by a third story, which is in both cases preserved almost fully intact (figs. 10 and 11). In both pavilions, a small square





FIG. 16.  
*Citradurga Hiḍimbēśvara entrance pavilion, view of  
small aedicule covering passageway to third story.*

chamber occupies the central bay of this upper story; it is defined by square-shafted corner columns carrying beams and a simply executed entablature, and it is capped by a square-to-dome *śikhara* rising from a molded *vēdi* platform. The Siddhēśvara's uppermost chamber has doors in the middle of its north, south, and west sides; the original stone walling of the east side has been replaced by brick, but this side must also have been originally provided with a doorway. In the Hiḍimbēśvara, doors are present only on the north and south sides. The rest of the floor at this level is open between chamber and parapet wall, providing for a continuous terrace running around all four sides. That this terrace was actually intended to be accessible is demonstrated by the presence of a small square passageway in the floor, which leads up from the second story and is covered by a miniature



FIG. 17.  
*Citradurga Hiḍimbēśvara entrance pavilion,  
detail of aedicule.*

aedicule replicating the central chamber in a greatly simplified manner (figs. 16 and 17; that of the Siddhēśvara temple has lost its superstructure). The central chamber of the Siddhēśvara's upper story is surrounded by three freestanding pillars carrying bull standards (fig. 18; one at each corner except the northeast, where the proximity of the passageway aedicule appears to have interrupted the regularity of the scheme).

Once we are familiar with the features of the entrance pavilion type as represented by the better-preserved Citradurga examples, we may more readily recognize details in the three Vijayanagara examples suggesting that they too were originally three-storied and fully accessible through all three levels. In both Citradurga examples, the vertical passageways are in an identical position with respect to the layout of the



FIG. 18.  
*Citradurga Siddhēśvara entrance pavilion,  
view from northeast.*

pavilion: the corner bay to the rear and right as the visitor moves into the pavilion's front entrance (that is, the northeast bay in the Hiḍimbēśvara and the southwest bay in the Siddhēśvara). Looking in an analogous location in the three Vijayanagara examples, we find square openings at precisely this position, even though they lack any structural covering on the third story and in some cases have been sealed off. Thus H.36 has square access hatches leading from the ground floor to the second story and thence to the third story, in the northeast corner bay in both cases (fig. 19). In H.7, a similar square passageway is visible in the ceiling over the northeast corner bay of the ground story, although it is presently closed over from above by stone slabs and a cement capping. Since this passageway led to the open bay north of the eastern porch, which did not communicate directly with the enclosed central chamber, a narrow walkway was provided to bridge the recessed corner and lead to the adjacent end of the northern porch, which does have a doorway leading into the chamber (traces of the stone slabs supporting this walkway, which can still be seen at this one corner, are indicated by dotted lines on the second-floor plan in fig. 3). Moving inside the chamber, we see a second passageway—also sealed off from above—again in the northeastern corner. The Narasiṃha temple pavilion likewise has the opening



FIG. 19.  
*H.36, floor of second story,  
showing open passageway  
leading up from ground story,  
northeastern bay.*



in the northeast bay of the ceiling over the ground story, but the opening leading to the third story is shifted to the center of the projecting porch bay on the south, there being no corner bays in this story because of the cruciform plan. On the basis of this evidence, we may thus conclude that all three of the Vijayanagara pavilions would originally have carried a third story, most likely featuring a central square chamber with square-to-dome *śikhara* and a smaller corner chamber over the passageway leading up from below, as in the Citradurga examples.

#### DATING

Two types of design change detectable in the development and elaboration of the entrance pavilion type at Vijayanagara help place the three buildings into a relative sequence. First, there is the movement from a regular, square plan in all three stories (H.36) toward more elaborate plans with cruciform projections, first on the second story alone (Narasimha temple entrance pavilion) and then throughout both the first and second stories (H.7). The second change confirms that design was moving in this direction and not the reverse. This change involves the progressive introduction of imported “southern” forms into the local Deccani stylistic matrix. These forms, first developed in the Tamil coastal plain under the Cōlas and their successors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are completely alien to the local architectural style of this region until the second half of the fourteenth century; by the fifteenth century, these “southern” forms had become so completely naturalized that they dominated subsequent temple architecture at the capital.<sup>6</sup> While these intrusive “southern” forms are altogether absent from H.36,<sup>7</sup> they make a limited appearance in the Narasimha entrance pavilion (*nāga-puṣpa* motifs projecting upward from the corners of the lower rectangular section of the *citrakhaṇḍa* columns on the upper story porches) and appear more extensively and with greater variety in H.7 (*nāga-puṣpa*; *citrakhaṇḍa* columns with not two but three square-sectioned blocks [fig. 3, elevation and section]; late Cōla style pilasters flanking the second story doorways [fig. 15]; etc.).

Taken together, these two changes suggest the

relative sequence: H.36–Narasimha pavilion–H.7. None of the three structures is precisely datable by foundation inscription, but within the broader context of the general chronology of stylistic development at the site, H.36 appears to date to ca. 1250–1325, the Narasimha pavilion to ca. 1379, and H.7 to the end of the fourteenth century, ca. 1385–1400.<sup>8</sup>

The two Citradurga examples are too similar, and the larger context of stylistic development at the site too poorly known, for us to hazard even a relative dating based on formal seriation. Fortunately, however, the Siddhēśvara entrance pavilion is firmly datable to ca. 1338 by a foundation inscription (discussed below). Dating of the Hiḍimbēśvara temple’s pavilion is more problematic. M. H. Krishna suggested that it was “built in 1411 A.D. by Mallanṇa Oḍeyar, son of Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar,”<sup>9</sup> apparently on the basis of epigraphic evidence (given the precision of the date), although no inscriptions are cited nor is the reasoning explained. More recently, George Michell has suggested that this pavilion actually dates from as late as the seventeenth century and that its older appearance results from stylistic archaism.<sup>10</sup> His argument for the seventeenth-century date is based on his consideration of temples within Citradurga town that were built under Bēḍar patronage and with which the Hiḍimbēśvara shares certain formal features.<sup>11</sup> If his argument is correct, then the pavilion’s immediate proximity to the earlier Siddhēśvara pavilion could conceivably have provided the impetus for the archaism. Whether the Hiḍimbēśvara entrance pavilion is an actual early fifteenth-century structure or instead a seventeenth-century building intentionally designed in an archaizing manner, it may in either case be considered to belong both formally and conceptually to the pre- and early Vijayanagara period series of entrance pavilions.

#### THE CITRADURGA INSCRIPTIONS

Considerable light is shed on the entrance pavilion as a building type by several Kannaḍa donative inscriptions preserved in Citradurga and the immediate vicinity. One inscription records the construction of the Siddhēśvara temple in Śaka 1260 (1338–39),<sup>12</sup>

a second further specifies that construction of the temple itself was undertaken by Hariyaṇṇa, son of Hiriya Siddhaṇṇa (*Hiriya Siddhaṇṇana kumāra Hariyaṇṇanu māḍisida yi dēvalya*), while Siddhaṇṇa's younger brother Sōmaṇṇa undertook construction of "the three-storied palace built in front of the temple" (*dēvalyada muṇḍana ādiṣṭaṇa muru-neleya upparige*), "the stone peacock-swing" (*kallanaviluyyalu*), and the "fine cupola" (*mēlaṇa sikhharavu*).<sup>13</sup> (In two subsequent inscriptions, the brothers are more clearly identified as successive *sthānikas* in charge of managing the temple.)<sup>14</sup> Two further inscriptions, issued in Ś. 1277 and 1278 (1355 and 1356) by Mallinātha Oḍeyar, a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* serving the Vijayanagara ruler Bukka I, reconfirm grants of villages as *sarvamānya* holdings to support the worship of the god Siddhēśvara.<sup>15</sup> Significantly, although neither inscription makes reference to the building of the temple proper, both do refer to the earlier construction of Sōmaṇṇa's three additions. The 1355 inscription mentions that "a 'stone palace' (*kalla upparige*) was erected for that god Siddhanātha of Beṃnattanakalla, the god's cupola (*śikhara*) was established, and a stone swing (*kalugelasadaluyyalu*) was erected" (*ā beṃnattanakalla siddhanāthadēvarige kalla upparigeyanū ettisi ā dēvara sikhara pratiṣṭeyanū māḍsi kalugelasadaluyyalanū ettisi . . .*). In the 1356 inscription, the wording is nearly identical, although the order of enumeration is changed, conforming instead to that of the undated foundation inscription: "a 'stone palace' was erected for that god Siddhanātha of Beṃmattanakalla, a stone swing was erected, and the god's high cupola was established" (*ā beṃmattanakalla siddhanāthadēvarige kalla upparigeyanū ettisi kalugelasada uyyālanū ettisi ā dēvara mēlaṇa śikhara pratiṣṭeyanu māḍisi . . .*). In both cases Sōmaṇṇa's additions are apparently singled out because he was then the *sthānika* receiving the grant on behalf of the temple. In the case of the 1355 inscription, it may also be relevant that the person who inscribed the epigraph is identified as Juḍaiya Rāvōja, the architect who had constructed Sōmaṇṇa's three additions, as he states with apparent pride in his signature at the end of the record.

What exactly is the *upparige*, or "palace," that Sōmaṇṇa built for the god Siddhanātha? The fact that the undated foundation inscription specifies that the

*upparige* was "three-storied" immediately suggests the possibility that the term is being used to denote the temple's entrance pavilion; however, given the apparently unusual nature of such a usage—that is, referring to an entrance pavilion as a "palace"—we might naturally hesitate to accept such an identification on the basis of this single factor alone. Yet as soon as we consider the entire range of evidence implicit both in the architectural form and situation of the building and in the wording of the inscriptions, it becomes impossible to avoid the conclusion that *upparige* denotes "entrance pavilion" in these inscriptions.

In the first place, the Siddhēśvara entrance pavilion, with its two upper stories laid out as central chambers surrounded by open verandas, faithfully embodies the basic form of the traditional Indic palace. From as early as the third or second century B.C., one of the primary attributes characterizing the traditional Indic palace was its disposition in an ascending series of terraced levels.<sup>16</sup> The continuing importance of this attribute during the medieval period is suggested by the fact that both Kannada *upparige* and its cognate in Telugu, *uppariga*, are used not only in the sense of "palace" but also in that of an "upper story" of such an edifice. Thus, although using the term to designate a nonresidential structure such as the entrance pavilion may be unusual, it does not appear to be inappropriate, given the term's connotations of a high, storied structure.

The possibility that *upparige* is being used in these inscriptions to designate the temple proper is ruled out decisively—even though temples are often conceived of as "palaces" for their gods—since one of the inscriptions clearly states that the structure in question was "built in front of the temple" (*dēvalyada muṇḍana ādiṣṭaṇa*), and in any case this same inscription states that the temple itself was built not by Sōmaṇṇa but by his elder brother.<sup>17</sup> It is also clear that the term could not have been used to refer to the cupola, or *śikhara*, rising over the temple's sanctum, since the cupola is explicitly mentioned as another of Sōmaṇṇa's foundations in three of the inscriptions (*ā dēvara śikhara; ā dēvara mēlaṇa śikhara; mēlaṇa śikhara*). From the wording and context of the inscriptions, we can only conclude that the *upparige* constructed by Sōmaṇṇa would have to have been





FIG. 20.  
*Citradurga Siddhēśvara entrance pavilion seen through associated “stone swing” in foreground.*

some discrete structure associated with the temple, as is the case with the stone swing also identified as having been erected through his patronage.

Sōmaṇṇa’s “stone swing” or “stone peacock-swing” may be recognized unmistakably in the lofty post and lintel structure that still stands a short distance north of the Siddhēśvara temple proper (fig. 20). The actual swing—used for the god’s swing-festival—would have been suspended from the upper transom, through the two holes near its center. Just above these holes, the visitor can even make out the figures of two peacocks carved in relief along the outer face of the transom, accounting for the wording “peacock-swing” of the undated foundation inscription. Suggestively, this stone swing happens to be immediately adjacent to the temple’s three-storied entrance pavilion, another factor underscoring the appropriateness of taking the term *upparige* as referring to the three-storied struc-



FIG. 21.  
*Citradurga Hiḍimbēśvara entrance pavilion seen through associated “stone swing.”*

ture. Moreover, the sequence of enumeration given in both the undated foundation inscription and the 1356 epigraph—“stone palace,” stone swing, and high cupola—accords perfectly with the sequence of actual buildings the visitor experiences in approaching the temple, starting with the entrance pavilion, moving past the stone swing, and finally arriving at the temple proper, marked by its “high cupola.” For all these reasons, then, we may confidently conclude that the *kalla upparige* of these inscriptions is none other than the multistoried, palatial entrance pavilion marking the approach to the Siddhēśvara temple.

#### RITUAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *KALLA UPPARIGE*

What were the functions of these entrance pavilions? In particular, how can we resolve the apparently

conflicting aspects of palace and gateway that are encompassed within the type? The passageway leading directly through the structure's ground story, the stairs outside carrying on this line of movement, and the building's inevitable subordination to a temple all suggest the function of a gateway; but at the same time, the type's freestanding disposition, the functional accessibility of the upper stories, and above all the name *upparige* all suggest a palatial conception. The use of these buildings as actual residential palaces for human rulers may easily be ruled out, given their relatively small size and the obvious function of the ground story as a passageway. Moreover, the 1338 inscription from Citradurga declares explicitly that Sōmaṇṇa's "stone palace" was erected "for the god (*ā . . . dēvarige*)."<sup>17</sup> But how would the god have used these structures?

I am not presently aware of any contemporary textual accounts that might shed light on this question, but some provisional answers may be suggested on the basis of the material evidence alone. Given the nature of the type's spatial layout, as well as its association with certain types of ritual structure that are inevitably sited adjacent to it, it appears likely that the entrance pavilion would have functioned as a secondary ritual arena at the periphery of the god's sacred precinct. Presumably, the temple priests would have brought the deity's portable image here for special rituals, taking him up into the upper stories. Here he could be temporarily enshrined in the central chamber or brought to a projecting porch or the edge of a veranda in order to appear to his votaries assembled outside on the ground below, just as a king appears to his subjects from the window or projecting balcony of an upper story of his palace. The practice would have been in certain ways analogous to that in south Indian chariot festivals (*rathōtsava*), in which the portable image is placed in a temple-chariot, or *ratha*, from which he may be seen by his votary-subjects as the chariot is pulled through the city streets surrounding the temple. In both cases, the ritual takes its particular form as a means of permitting interactions with the deity in a public context outside the temple proper—an important consideration in premodern times, when many social classes were denied the right of entry into the temple precinct itself.<sup>18</sup> Only the ritual metaphor differs in each

case—the chariot festival adopting the moving form of a royal procession and the appearance from the entrance pavilion patterned on the more stationary form of a royal appearance.

This much is suggested simply by the name, form, and disposition of the *kalla upparige* as a building type. But such an interpretation is further supported by the fact that every one of the entrance pavilions considered here has at least one specialized ritual structure standing adjacent to it. Four of the five—H.7 (fig. 7), H.36, the Narasiṃha pavilion, and that of the Siddhēśvara temple at Citradurga (fig. 10)—have (or had) a lamp pillar standing a short distance from them, in all cases to the rear of the pavilion (that is, on the side toward the temple).<sup>19</sup> These pillars—two of which are explicitly identified in foundation inscriptions as "lamp pillars" (*dīpa-stambha* or *dīpa-māleya-kambha*)—were designed to hold lamps for the lamp-offering (*dīpārādhanā*) to the god, confirming the interpretation of the *kalla upparige* as not just an entryway but a location for the god's periodic appearance. Similarly, each of the Citradurga entrance pavilions is also associated with a "stone swing" (*kalugelasadaluyyalu*), as the one founded by Sōmaṇṇa was named in the 1338 inscription. These structures would have served to support the swings that are used to entertain the god in the swinging-ritual, which is still commonly performed in temples throughout southern India (figs. 20 and 21). Again, the fact that these structures have been erected away from the temple proper but close to the "stone palace" similarly serves to underscore the interpretation of the entrance pavilion as an ancillary center for the performance of temple rituals.

One final observation relates to the tendency for these "stone palaces" to be placed south of the temples they serve. This placement suggests the importance of the southern approach to these temples, although in most of the monuments in question the shrine itself is oriented not south but roughly east. This is the case with the temples served by H.7 (the Virūpākṣa temple), H.36 (the temple designated as H.30, probably that dedicated to Jaḍeya Śankara), and the Narasiṃha pavilion (the Narasiṃha temple, oriented roughly northeast, so the pavilion is actually to the southeast). Only the Citradurga Hiḍimbēśvara temple is oriented directly south, on axis with



its entrance pavilion. One wonders what ritual significance may have been attached to this pattern of approach and how it may have been associated with the rituals and practice of kingship, given the conceptual identification of these pavilions as “palaces.”

There are a number of apparent precedents within the region for the southern placement of these entrance pavilions, starting in the seventh century with the *pratōli* gateway to the Durgā temple at Aihole<sup>20</sup> (on the south, establishing a cross axis to the east-oriented temple) and moving up through the period of the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas in the tenth through twelfth centuries, when one of the most common plans for single-shrine temples locates the shrine on the west side of the *maṇḍapa*, with entrance porches to both east and south.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, to judge from the lavishness of ornamentation, the southern porch appears to have served as the primary entrance in many of these temples; at Lakkuṇḍi’s Kāśivīśvēśvara temple, for example, the doorway surround (*dvārabandha*) of the eastern porch consists of seven bands, or *śākhās*, while that of the southern entrance is composed of nine bands. As M. A. Dhaky has indicated, Vāstu-śāstra treatises state that a nine-banded doorway is the type favored for kings, again underscoring the apparent association between the southern approach and kingship.<sup>22</sup> That the pattern continues on into the thirteenth century and extends into the Talaṅgāṇa region is evidenced by a monumental series of *āsthāna-maṇḍapas* built under the patronage of the Kākatīyas and their subordinates. Typologically distinct, these buildings are conceived as many-pillared *maṇḍapas*, although they often articulate directly with an enclosure wall; inevitably, they are placed south of the temple and on axis with the southern porch leading into the temple’s main *raṅga-maṇḍapa*.<sup>23</sup> Here too the type’s royal associations are suggested by the name *āsthāna*, meaning “court” or “place of royal audience.” Finally, we may note that at Vijayanagara, the plan of the city itself seems to preserve this spatial relation, reformulating it at a grander scale by placing the city’s urban core with its royal palace directly south of the earlier sacred center and its temple of Virūpākṣa (fig. 2). □

## Notes

1. This article is based on field research and site surveys carried out under my supervision in 1987 (under the aegis of the Vijayanagara Research Project, with funding from the Smithsonian Excess Foreign Currency Program) and in 1991 (with funding from the American Institute of Indian Studies). On both occasions, accommodations at the Vijayanagara site were graciously provided at the archaeological camp maintained by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, and the work was facilitated by scholarly advice and logistical support provided by A. Sundara, D. V. Devaraj, C. S. Patil, and Balasubramanya. The measured drawings illustrated here were executed by Mike Bohn, Baz Hurrell, Vinod Kumar, Jenny More, Charles Orton, and Anthony Ronning; photographs are by Dee Foster, Charles Orton, Anthony Ronning, and me. I am grateful to all of these institutions and individuals, and especially to Vijayanagara Research Project codirectors John Fritz and George Michell, for making this work possible.

2. A fourth example at Vijayanagara, for which complete documentation is not yet available, is located some 400 meters northeast of the Narasimha temple and marks the entrance into the southwestern end of Viṭhalapura, the urban quarter surrounding the temple to the god Viṭhala. This structure is identified in the Vijayanagara Map Series as NGk/3 and, like the Citradurga examples, is associated with a stone swing (NHa/7, popularly known as the “King’s Balance”; for maps, see Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through Its Monuments*, Vijayanagara Research Project Monograph Series, vol. 4 [New Delhi: Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies, 1995], 267–68). Like the other three examples at the Vijayanagara site, it is preserved through two stories and is oriented approximately north. Judging from available photographs, NGk/3 appears most comparable to H.36, although stylistically it seems to date to the later fourteenth century. For a photograph, see *City of Victory—Vijayanagara: The Medieval Hindu Capital of Southern India*, photographs by John Gollings, with essay by John Fritz and George Michell (New York: Aperture Press, 1991), fig. 64, where the structure is visible to the left, behind the stone swing.

3. For interpretation of the various zones of the city, see John M. Fritz, George Michell, and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, *Where Kings and Gods Meet: The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara, India* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 9–15.

4. The Citradurga examples mark the beginning points of the paths leading to the Siddhēśvara and Hiḍimbēśvara temples, and the Vijayanagara Narasimha example leads into this temple’s physical enclosure. H.38 appears to have originally been paired with H.30, with which it is both contemporaneous and axially aligned (although the later temple H.31 has been interposed in such a way that it blocks movement between H.38 and H.30). H.7 appears to have originally led into the ritual enclosure of

the Virūpākṣa temple, although access into the temple has subsequently been blocked from this point by the building of a solid *prākāra* wall just north of H.7. See Phillip B. Wagoner, "Architecture and Mythic Space at the Hemakuta Hill: A Preliminary Report," in *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1984-87*, ed. D. V. Devaraj and Channabasappa S. Patil (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1991), 142-48, and "From 'Pampā's Crossing' to 'The Place of Lord Virūpākṣa': Architecture, Cult, and Patronage at Hampi before the Founding of Vijayanagara," in *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1988-91*, ed. D. V. Devaraj and Channabasappa S. Patil (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1996), 141-74.

5. H.7 is oriented NNE (22°), and H.36 is oriented NNW (352°), while the Narasiṃha temple's pavilion, oriented WNW, departs furthest from an actual northern orientation. Henceforth, all will be spoken of as oriented "north."

6. George Michell, "Architecture," in Anna L. Dallapiccola et al., *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*, Vijayanagara Research Project Monograph Series, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies, 1992), 31-77. See also Phillip B. Wagoner and Nadia Khan, "Methodological Reflections on the Chronology of Early Vijayanagara Architecture: The Case of Hemakuta's Triple-Shrines" (forthcoming).

7. In fact, they do appear on the doorframe of this structure, but it is clear from an examination of the crisp finish of the masonry surface of this member that it has been inserted into the original architectural fabric at a later date, most likely the early fifteenth century.

8. For a detailed discussion of the site chronology, see Wagoner and Khan, "Methodological Reflections."

9. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1929* (Bangalore: Government Press, 1931), 19.

10. George Michell, *The New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1.6: *Architecture and Art of Southern India—Vijayanagara and the Successor States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 71-72.

11. Michell actually makes this argument with respect to both entrance pavilions, but it is clear from the inscriptions discussed below that the Siddhēśvara pavilion is an early fourteenth-century structure.

12. *Epigraphia Carnatica* XI, Chitradurga 4.

13. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1939* (Mysore: Government Branch Press, 1940), Chitaldrug Dt., no. 4, pp. 105-6.

14. *Epigraphia Carnatica* XI, Chitradurga 6 and 55.

15. *Epigraphia Carnatica* XI, Chitradurga 2 and 3; see also Vasundhara Filliozat, *L'Épigraphie de Vijayanagar du début à 1377* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1973), inscription nos. 39 and 44.

16. Michael W. Meister, ed., *Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: Essays in Early Indian Architecture* (Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Oxford University Press, 1992), 38ff.

17. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1939*, Chitaldrug Dt., no. 4.

18. Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, "Le droit d'entrer dans les temples de Siva au XIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique* 263.1,2 (1975): 103-17.

19. These lamp pillars are still standing in the case of H.7 and the Citradurga Siddhēśvara temple. The lamp pillar associated with H.7 has been numbered separately as H.5; it bears a foundation inscription dated Ś.1350 (A.D. 1428) and recording the erection of the lamp pillar for Virūpākṣa by Śaśidhara, son of the minister Mādhavāmātya (See *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1984-87*, ed. D. V. Devaraj and Channabasappa S. Patil [Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1991], inscription no. 24). The lamp pillar that was apparently associated with H.36 has collapsed, but its footing, foundation inscription, and a portion of its shaft are still visible on the sheetrock 10-15 meters north and east of the northeast corner of the pavilion. The inscription is dated Ś. 1319 (A.D. 1397) and records the erection of a lamp-pillar (*dīpamāleya-kambha*) for the god Jaḍeya-Śaṃkhara by Queen Bukkayave, the queen of the reigning Vijayanagara king Harihara II (See *South Indian Inscriptions* XXIII, no. 501). This in turn suggests that the temple to which this pavilion is subordinated—H.30—may be identified as dedicated to the god Jaḍeya-Śaṃkhara, "Śiva of the matted locks," and was understood to commemorate the spot of Virūpākṣa-Śiva's asceticism on Hēmakūṭa. The Narasiṃha temple's lamp pillar has also collapsed, but its shaft may be seen lying within the compound, north of the entrance pavilion.

20. Gary Michael Tartakov, *The Durga Temple at Aihole: A Historiographic Study* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 61-65.

21. See, for example, the New Trikūṭēśvara in the Trikūṭēśvara complex at Gadag; plan in M. A. Dhaky, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, vol. 1.3: *South India, Upper Drāviḍaḍēśa, Later Phase, A.D. 973-1326* (Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996), 107, fig. 72.

22. Dhaky, *South India*, 96.

23. Dhaky, *South India*, 472. For a clear example, see the site plan of the Kōṭa Guḍi temple complex at Ghanpur: Dhaky, *South India*, 541, fig. 302.





## Book Reviews

*The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475–1500.*

By Quitman E. Phillips. 296 pp., 2 maps, 2 charts, 20 illustrations. Stanford:Stanford University Press, 2000. \$49.50.

THIS BOOK IS A VALUABLE addition to recent scholarship on Japanese art. It is noteworthy in its ambition, its scope, its substance, and its detail. The introduction alone stands as a lucid, provocative statement, and the main text is enriched by extensive documentary analyses. Phillips considers painting of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, which is well recognized in Japan and the West especially for contributions from artists like Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506), Tosa Mitsunobu (?–1521), Kanō Masanobu (1434–1530), and Kenkō Shōkei (fl. ca. 1478–1506). In six chapters Phillips systematically investigates the production and reception of painting, organizing his analysis clearly and concisely. In his opening sentence, he states, “This is a book about the practices of painting, not about paintings themselves. It examines, through a close study of documents, the ordinary conditions, procedures, events, and interpersonal interactions that characterized the production of pictures in late-fifteenth-century Japan” (p. 1). Phillips succeeds in drawing out many of the intricacies of fifteenth-century painting practice with his thoughtful textual exploration and, although I would suggest different interpretations of a few points, I found this study a praiseworthy accomplishment.

In his book, Phillips investigates the social history of art, like a number of leading scholars in Western art history. Moving beyond artistic biography, stylistic evolution, and iconographic tradition, these scholars look at art-in-context, as well as the socially constructed notion of artistic value. Phillips claims a debt to Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist who is perhaps best known for his critical studies on structures of cultural authority, social roles of artists and intellectuals, and the canon and aesthetic judgment. As Phillips explains, Bourdieu is particularly concerned with practice—that is, the complex institu-

tional and social relations around which cultural forms are produced, encountered, and consecrated.

In the introduction, Phillips sets his agenda in an admirably direct and cogent fashion. He tells us why he selected the period 1475 to 1500, explaining that this was an important era of cultural and political transition, as the Ōnin Civil War (1467–77) was ending and old centers of artistic production were giving way to new ones. By selecting practices, he is able to explore active social processes in the production and reception of art. Identifying the practices to be addressed as elite, intragroup interactions around painting, Phillips recommends that future studies “take fuller account of painting practices outside elite circles” (p. 8), a suggestion that if pursued would enhance our understanding of premodern art and help bring Japanese art history into the mainstream of current scholarship on cultural history.

Chapter 1, “Documenting Practices,” details the types of documents to be studied: collection records, lists, letters, inscriptions, colophons, diaries, sketches of painters’ careers, and extant works of art. Phillips compares the documents, noting that most are either diary entries or biographical sketches.

In chapter 2, “Circumstances of Painting,” Phillips elaborates on the settings in which paintings were ordered and produced; these include the imperial court and affiliated temples, the Southern Painting Bureau of Nara, the Ashikaga shogunal circle and Gozan temples, Daitokuji, and several provincial sites. Turning to categories of painting, Phillips deconstructs three main dichotomous notions of premodern Japanese painting commonly embraced in modern scholarship: fine art versus craft, idealist (expressive, individualist) versus institutional (standardized, uninspired) painting, and *wa* (native, *yamato-e*) versus *kan* (Chinese, *kanga*). Next, he lists the leading genres and formats of painting: folding fans (*ōgi*), folding screens (*byōbu*), plaques for Shinto shrines (*ema*), icons, portraits, hanging scrolls (*kakemono*), narrative handscrolls (*emaki*), and room painting (*zashiki-e*). The chapter closes with a discussion of types of painters—individual or workshop painters (*eshi* or *edokoro*), Buddhist image makers (*ebusshi*), and so on—and their training in copying, sketching from life, and classical literary studies.



Chapter 3, “Basic Operations and Agency,” introduces the stages of making a painting, from launching the project to mounting the finished product. Typically, the stages include gathering visual resources, formulating a painting (whether through replication, interpretation, or fabrication), and adding inscriptions. There is an admirably synthetic treatment of painting processes here. Some paintings were produced spontaneously, while others followed careful steps of planning, as Phillips explains in chapter 4, “Consultation and Supervision.” He effectively explicates the texts and elucidates a number of fascinating projects, including an imperial commission for Tosa Mitsunobu to paint the *Ten Kings of Hell*, Ashikaga Yoshimasa’s commission for Kanō Masanobu to paint sliding doors for the Amida Hall at Higashiyama, and several handscroll projects.

In chapter 5, “Social Practices,” Phillips explores the hierarchical positions of those involved with painting—for example, the painters, who tended to belong to professional family businesses, and inscribers, who usually were born into prestigious families and were honored for their literary abilities. To tease out the disparities between painters and inscribers more thoroughly, Phillips looks at the formal painting practices in major religious and political institutions, considering the investment of social value and the acquisition of symbolic benefits. He also examines informal practices, such as amateur painting.

Phillips dedicates his final chapter to portraiture (*shōzō*), analyzing the social place and use of portrait painting, as well as the processes of production. Several case studies—such as the portrait commissioned by Kisen Shūhō—illustrate practices of portraiture in the fifteenth century. Finally, one of several appendices offers a lengthy chronology of relevant events, listing English translations of textual references.

That said, there are several points that I question in Phillips’s book. Although his mention of Bourdieu’s analytic strategies is tantalizing, it leaves the reader wishing for more. Phillips does acknowledge “the limited nature” of his integration of Bourdieu’s methods (p. 222 n. 8); however, Bourdieu’s strategies permit a deeper interpretation, especially concerning consumption of painting and aesthetic value as a function of social difference in

fifteenth-century Japan. Furthermore, I often questioned the author’s interpretation of Bourdieu. For example, he maintains that Bourdieu focuses on three sorts of capital—symbolic, cultural, and economic—commenting, “To these I have added social (interpersonal connections of potential value in competition), since personal relationships have long held a critical place in Japanese all fields [*sic*] of social practices” (p. 11). It is my understanding that Bourdieu categorizes social capital as one of four main forms of capital—symbolic, cultural, economic, and social—the latter of which is “capital gained by the sheer number of family members, retainers or network of supporters,” to quote from Bridget Fowler in *Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Theory* (Sage Publications, 1997, p. 31). This different understanding of a central Bourdieu concept is telling: Bourdieu’s writing is elusive, at times cryptic, and his intention was never to establish a new art historical methodology. Where he does address art in his most widely cited book in English, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), Bourdieu argues against the “religion of art” and defines taste in contemporary France as a construct meant to legitimate social domination. Evidently, one of his aims is to uncover the class-based injustice that lies at the heart of high art.

In recent books, *The Field of Cultural Production* (Polity, 1993) and *The Rules of Art* (Polity, 1996), Bourdieu directs some of his attention to art historical concerns, but I find a central contradiction here: Bourdieu casts art objects as fetishes while simultaneously praising modern intellectuals and artists as prophets “charged with preaching and praying, with saying the true and the good, with consecrating or condemning by speech [and art]” (*Field of Cultural Production*, p. 165). Along similar lines, Phillips draws out the individualist-artist from fifteenth-century Japan, most notably Sesshū, adhering to a mainstream modernist interpretation of Sesshū as an independent, spiritually inspired creative genius (pp. 138, 173). Like many who study the social history of art, I find the notion of an artist-genius, based on avant-garde bohemian individualism, to be a troublesome modern myth. Bourdieu’s acceptance of this notion undermines his social critique, as

it does Phillips's interpretation of premodern Japanese painting practice. I also question Phillips's conclusion that his study "suggest[s] that painting began to emerge in the last quarter of the fifteenth century with a stronger potential for 'artlike' (or perhaps 'literature-like') status" (p. 172). Doesn't this statement bring the author back to the reification and mystification of high culture that preoccupies Bourdieu?

I take issue with several other views espoused by Phillips, including his assessment of the spread of aristocratic culture and the negligible political power of courtiers. It is an overstatement to say that the "writing and reading [of] classical prose and poetry had lost much of their identities as internal, evolving practices of the court and entered the broader market of cultural commodities" (p. 133). Yes, a select few commoners and ranking warriors did train in classical arts and did operate outside the confines of the palace in the fifteenth century, but it was only much later that custodians of courtly tradition openly allowed literary practices to pour out of their guarded confines. Even in the seventeenth century, classical prose and poetry were still closely tied to the internal practices of the court. Furthermore, I know of no documentary evidence to support the claim that fifteenth-century aristocrats commonly saw their training in high culture as a moneymaking asset.

Because Phillips's study depends on analysis of old texts, it is also worth considering his characterization of these texts. In the introduction, he writes that the late fifteenth century "has an exceptionally rich variety of documents" for this study (p. 3); however, pages later he states that the late fifteenth century "left behind a wealth of textual evidence only relative to the meager standards of medieval Japan" (p. 13). Then, in explaining the types of records he will examine, Phillips relates that "Surviving documents from late-fifteenth-century Japan present evidence that painting activities occurred primarily within well-established institutions" (p. 7), but soon he qualifies this, writing, "I relied on the most detailed records available, and such documents come almost exclusively from the brushes of the nobility and leading clergy" (p. 7). If records available for this study were largely by ranking members of elite institutions who focused on their own surroundings, then how

can we say that painting occurred mainly here, within these established institutions? We simply don't know how much painting was produced elsewhere.

These comments are meant to convey minor quibbles with a book that markedly advances the study of premodern Japanese art. Phillips's systematic, synthetic treatment of issues should inspire much discussion in the field, and his extensive translations from primary sources will certainly be useful to students and scholars working in English. □

ELIZABETH LILLEHOJ

*Imagining Architects: Creativity in the Religious Monuments of India.* By Ajay J. Sinha. 212 pp., 6 figs., 109 plates. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2000. \$57.00.

VARIOUS CORPORA of the Indic architectural tradition, ranging from the medieval through modern periods, are receiving scholarly attention. For the medieval period, the 1967 Benares conference on various aspects of temple architecture (published as *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. P. Chandra [American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975]) was seminal in updating nineteenth-century approaches to the subject and restoring its rightful place in current scholarship. Perhaps as a consequence of this gathering of scholars and their work on the various Indic architectural traditions, monographs concentrating on the coalesced regional corpora began to appear. An example of these more focused studies is M. A. Dhaky's meticulous work in *The Indian Temple Forms in Karnata: Inscriptions and Architecture* (Abhinav Publications, 1977).

The book under review also analyzes the medieval temple tradition of the region now within the modern state of Karnataka (pp. 31–32), tracing the emergence of Vesara typology through close architectural examination of tenth- through twelfth-century temple foundations in the northern and southern alluvia of the east-flowing Tungabhadra River.



The author notes that he is heir to Dhaky's monograph, since "Dhaky [already] showed convincingly that Karnataka architects created Vesara as their own indigenous temple form and that they consciously distinguished it from other regional temple forms in India" (p. 22). The author claims, however, to "extend Dhaky's framework for understanding the architects' own knowledge of temple forms . . . into the area of their agency and intentionality in shaping Vesara's history" (p. 26).

The first chapter problematizes the current scholarly interpretation of Vesara architecture. It is argued that the approach to this regional school as a hybrid of the northern (Nāgara) and southern (Drāviḍa) traditions is inadequate, since it detracts from "Vesara's originality" (p. 23) and leaves no analytical space for the agency and intentionality of the producers of the typology—the stoneworkers themselves (pp. 23, 25–28). The author notes that, "[i]n emphasizing the architects, [he does] not aim to invoke the subjective creative will or to argue for any form of Western individualism among Vesara architects, but rather to point out that a living relationship exists between the makers and their monuments" (p. 27). The framework of Braudel is called upon to justify the focus on the individual as the ultimate agent in regional change, while the work of Baxandall and Grabar is summoned toward understanding the conceptual shift of Vesara stoneworkers as they forged a new typology (pp. 23, 27–29). Grabar's treatment of the Islamic in *The Formation of Islamic Art* (Yale University Press, 1973) is proposed as an analogy to the emergence of Vesara, as discussed below.

The following three chapters analyze temples from the late ninth through eleventh centuries, from such sites as Kukkanūr (late ninth century), Aihole (tenth century), and Sūḍī (eleventh century): Rāciguḍī and temple nos. 52 and 53 at Aihole provided the "formal ground for Vesara architecture in the 11th century" (p. 60), by experimenting with the typical Drāviḍa superstructure and by bringing out the architectural quality of plain walls (pp. 53–55). Aihole's late tenth-century triple Jaina shrine provided additional elements taken up during the "Vesara Moment" (chap. 4), namely the nested

*madhyaśālā* and the expanding *bhadra* and *subhadra* (p. 75). By the eleventh century, the Kalleśvara Temple at Kukkanūr (ca. 1025) exhibited the trademark Vesara *bhadra* cluster, a widened central offset consisting of the *bhadra* and *pratiratha* (p. 88). Aihole's preoccupation with the temple wall was taken up by the builders of the Joḍa Kalaśa Temple, Sūḍī (ca. 1060), where the *pratirathas* were rotated 45 degrees, forming the beginnings of a stellate plan (accompanied by *bhūmija kūṭastambhas*; pp. 93–94). Finally, at the Siddheśvara Temple of Hāverī (ca. 1100), the miniature Nāgara *kūṭastambhas* were replaced by Vesara *kūṭastambhas*, and the temple itself embodied the earliest example of a "standardized typology for Vesara" (p. 129).

Chapter 5 throws into relief the role of the builders of these temples in its examination of the Yallamā Temple of Badāmi (ca. 1075–1100). The author offers an alternative to Dhaky's ca. 1025 dating of the temple, arguing that its "Drāviḍa form and the austerity of its ornamentation are part of a 'conceit' rather than a chronological marker" (p. 119). It is precisely in the construction of the Yallamā "as if" it were a south Indian temple, the author argues, that the builders' conscious manipulation of inherited architectural forms to create the Vesara idiom is made apparent. And since this idiom was not defined by a single moment in time, nor limited to Hāverī, chapter 6 explores the varying manifestations of Vesara, with the northeastern variant exemplified by the Mahādeva Temple, Iṭṭagi (early twelfth century), and the southeastern at the Mallikārjuna Temple, Kuruvatti (ca. 1100).

The idea of Islamic art as a parallel to Vesara (pp. 27–29) deserves closer examination. O. Grabar described the formation of Islamic art as the Islamization of older forms: Indigenous artistic practices largely continued but were perceived as Islamic by the Muslim viewer and thus given this new "sense" (summarized p. 28). The author states that "[u]sing Grabar's approach, the book explains Vesara architecture as a function of Vesarization of earlier regional architecture, which it otherwise closely resembles" (p. 28). But the book's detailed analysis of the changes that took place during Vesara's emergence (outlined above) clearly indicates that more than a

change of perception was at work. Thus, Vesarization of previous forms as a primary explanation for the style's emergence seems to undercut the critical architectural changes that indeed occurred and that ultimately warranted the writing of the monograph.

Nonetheless, the emphasis on the makers of the buildings is well placed. Rather than treating the buildings as disembodied entities morphing over time, the book ultimately considers the human agency effecting these changes as reconstructed through its traces of facture (p. 190). The concept of linguistic drift is effectively used to metaphorize the mechanisms of gradual change (p. 52). But it must be noted that the presence of human agency in any stylistic variance of an object or building—and indeed in its very creation—has never been in question. Even under “the notion of . . . architecture as a mixture of extrinsic forms” (p. 28), it has been tacitly understood that human hands were behind this mixture. Dearth or complete absence of evidence has been the principal obstacle to arriving at the agency and intentionality in architectural change.

The author relies on inscriptional evidence to supply this lack. The foundation inscription of the Joḍa Kalaśa Temple, Sūḍi (ca. 1060) (pp. 93, 124) and an epigraph on the Kōṭiśvara Temple, Kuppatur (ca. 1235) (pp. 25, 167–68), form the basis for his conclusions regarding the builders' conscious manipulation of forms. Both inscriptions stressed the innovativeness of the temple's builder (in reality, probably an entire guild), the Sūḍi inscription in particular using the term *vakrokti-vācaspati* (“master of punning phrases,” “master of punning speech” [p. 93]) to describe him. The author notes, “[i]t is significant . . . that the literary phrase is used here to refer to an architect, conveying the scribe's sense of wonder about his architectural creation” (p. 93). Judging from the surviving architectural remains, Sūḍi's Joḍa Kalaśa was the first temple to have rotated wall surfaces and *bhūmija kūṭastambhas*. Yet the inscriptional evidence alone is insufficient to establish that the hypothetical builder was perceived as visibly departing from previous tradition, much less that he was conscious of this departure as an innovation. It is known that epigraphic language sometimes contained unusual flourishes, especially in praise, and the use of *vakrokti-vācaspati* to refer to

the builder is not conclusively proven to be unique and significant.

The case is similar with Kuppatur's Kōṭiśvara Temple inscription of ca. 1235. The epigraph notes that Drāviḍa, Bhūmija, and Nāgara *kūṭastambhas* were used to decorate the temple walls, and the *bhadras* were “manipulated in many ways” (p. 167). The author thus concludes that “the two aspects of the architectural enterprise that the inscription addresses are intimately related in the minds of the local Karnataka architect. . . . Kuppatur's statement . . . suggests the architect's own estimation of the challenges involved” (p. 168). Again, the evidence of a sole inscription seems insufficient for delineating the builders' attitudes toward their creations, and even more so for surmising the analytical processes underlying their architectural and sculptural programs. It must be reemphasized that the book's concentration on the role of the builder in the emergence of Vesara is theoretically innovative for the study of Indic architecture and an important contribution. The paucity of the evidence, however, must also be borne in mind.

The work's particular use of the term *Vesara* merits consideration. It is not known whether the creators of these Karnataka temples themselves used this term to denote the buildings they erected. In fact, the first surviving uses of the term appear in the late twelfth-century Sanskrit religious text, the *Kāṃikāgama* (pp. 21, 33, 47), and in the thirteenth-century inscription on the Kōṭiśvara Temple at Kuppatur (discussed above; pp. 25, 167; pl. 100). Nonetheless, the author applies *Vesara* to such eleventh-century temples as those at Kukkanūr, Mahākūṭa, and Sūḍi (chap. 4, “The Vesara Moment,” pp. 77–99).

This seemingly *ante facto* application introduces an important methodological shift, in my belief constituting one of the most significant contributions of the book. Although the term's application may be considered problematic, it nevertheless awakens one to the processual rather than sudden appearances of building idioms, which scholars have often treated as frozen phenomena rather than—more accurately—as ongoing events.<sup>1</sup> In fact, within the Indic building tradition, the standard sequence entails codification of building practices and classification of architectural



idioms only after generations of “experiments” (cf. pp. 47, 125). Thus, the use of *Vesara* before its appearance in texts and inscriptions is justified at least in part, if we keep in mind that an idiom is in the making both before and after its classification. □

## NOTE

1. Along similar lines are recent publications on cross-cultural interactions, e.g., Jonathan Hay, “Toward a Theory of the Intercultural,” *Res* 35 (1999): 5–9.

ALKA PATEL

*Taoism and the Arts of China*. Edited by Stephen Little, with Shawn Eichman. 415 pp., 151 color plates, and illustrations of articles. Chicago and Berkeley: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with University of California Press, 2000. \$39.95 paper; \$60.00 hardcover.

**T**AOISM AND THE ARTS OF CHINA is the most comprehensive introduction to the visual culture of Taoism (Daoism) to date. Although an exhibition catalogue, this book goes beyond the limits of the exhibited works to examine varied aspects of the religious history, pictorial art, and architectural history of Taoism. This lavishly illustrated catalogue contains three introductory essays, which provide a solid foundation for our understanding of Taoism and Taoist art, complemented by two in-depth articles investigating, respectively, a regional artistic tradition of the so-called organized or religious Taoism in Sichuan province and the relationship between Emperor Huizong of the Song Dynasty and Taoism. The well-researched explanatory notes of the color plates provide detailed information on the iconography and historiography of the images.

The first three essays offer a brief historical introduction to the art, religion, and architecture of Taoism. Stephen Little’s “Taoism and the Arts of China” (pp. 13–31) describes historical changes in Taoist philosophy and art from its beginning in the Chinese Bronze Age (fifth–third centuries B.C.) to the

Qing dynasty (1644–1911), focusing on the role of works of art in the history of Taoism. As the chief curator of the exhibition, Little explains, “The goal of this project, therefore, is to introduce China’s primary indigenous religion to the Western audience by examining the iconography and function of works of art made in the service of Taoism” (p. 13). Little’s essay begins with a discussion on the main concepts of Taoism and their association with art works, followed by a chronological introduction to the changing aspects of Taoist art in Chinese history. It surveys the Taoist works of art surviving from the Six Dynasties through the Qing and analyzes the relevant documentary records in ancient Chinese texts. A weak point of the essay is its omission of the abundant Taoist stone carvings of the Tang and Song dynasties found in Sichuan. These images reveal how local Taoist icons were used by believers in a religious and ritual context, and they should have been included in this comprehensive introduction to Chinese Taoist art.

“Taoism: The Story of the Way” (pp. 33–55), by Kristofer Schipper, introduces the origin and development of the philosophical thoughts, religious movements, prominent figures, important texts, and ritual practices of Taoism throughout Chinese history. It is a concise history of Chinese Taoist religion. The primary information used by the author includes historical and religious texts; visual evidence is overlooked.

Nancy Shatzman-Steinhart’s “Taoist Architecture” (pp. 57–75) documents the changing appearances of Taoist architecture by examining archaeological sites and surviving Taoist temples in China. She begins with a definition of Taoist architecture and tries to clarify the confusing terms used in ancient Chinese texts. Her conclusion can help readers understand the nature of Taoist architecture:

An examination of representative halls through the history of Taoism in China shows extraordinary similarity to imperial, Confucian, or Buddhist architecture of comparable statues. The sectarian designation of a Taoist hall or its building complex cannot be determined by exterior signs either. Taoist architecture does not identify itself as a place for the attainment of immortality or mixing of elixirs for that purpose. Upon entering a

Taoist structure, the message of its murals might be an enhancement to a practitioner's transformation, or a devotee might purchase an elixir mixed by a resident priest, but the same two occurrences could happen as easily and efficiently in a grotto. Certainly images offer an opportunity for personal prayer, and objects on an altar afford the possibility of ceremony, and both identify a structure as Taoist once inside. (p. 74)

Steinhart emphasizes the significance of images in a Taoist hall as the key to identifying the building's religious function and clarifies the visual definition of Taoist architecture.

The two in-depth articles in the catalogue are Wu Hung's "Mapping Early Taoist Art: The Visual Culture of Wudoumi Dao" (pp. 77–93) and Patricia Ebrey's "Taoism and Art at the Court of Song Huizong" (pp. 95–111). Wu Hung's article systematically investigates the archaeological remains of Wudoumi Dao ("Five Pecks of Rice" Taoism) in the Sichuan region, including some parts of the bordering Shanxi, Guizhou, and Yunnan provinces. It reconstructs the local Taoist art tradition by examining not only individual pictorial images and objects but also symbolic and narrative "programs" of images and objects, their architectural contexts and ritual functions, their makers and patrons, production and consumption, geographical distribution, and period style. Taking the geography of the early Taoist sect as his cue, Wu Hung compares the locations of major centers of Wudoumi Dao with the distribution patterns of certain images and objects in Sichuan art. His comparison shows that the two maps overlap each other and reveals the strong Taoist characteristics of this regional art tradition. Many architectural structures, objects, and pictorial images discussed in this essay are familiar to students of Han art, but they have only been studied as general properties of a unified "funerary art" from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. This essay contextualizes these visual forms in a local religious tradition and provides a new interpretation of their meaning and function.

Patricia Ebrey's "Taoism and Art at the Court of Song Huizong" describes and analyzes Emperor Huizong's pro-Taoist actions, which include sponsoring the first printing of the Taoist canon, heaping

honors on charismatic Taoist teachers, setting up a Taoist school curriculum, sponsoring Taoist temples throughout the country, and favoring Taoists over their long-term rivals, the Buddhists. In this essay, Ebrey uses Huizong's Taoist faith and art mania as a vantage point for considering the complexities of the relations among Taoism, art, and emperorship in imperial China.

The catalogue is divided into three main sections: the Formation of the Taoist Tradition, the Taoist Church, and the Taoist Renaissance. The first section includes the following components: 1. Laozi and the Origins of Taoism, 2. Heaven and Earth: Taoist Cosmology, and 3. Sacred Mountains and Cults of the Immortals. The second section contains three subtitles: 1. The Beginning of Religious Taoism, 2. Taoist Ritual, and 3. The Taoist Pantheon. The final section consists of six categories: 1. Taoism and Popular Religion, 2. Divine Manifestations of Yin: Goddesses and Female Saints, 3. Zhenwu, the Perfect Warrior, 4. Taoist Immortals, 5. Inner Alchemy and Its Symbolism, and 6. The Sacred Landscape. The structure of the catalogue/exhibition makes it possible to include not only objects made exclusively for the purpose of Taoism but also works that are made for other occasions but may be connected to Taoist ideas. The research essays and the colorful illustrations provide a comprehensive and authoritative introduction to the history of Taoist art and religion in China. I recommend this book to anyone who is interested in Chinese art, religion, and society. □

NING QIANG

*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology.*  
Edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw.  
701pp., 319 black-and-white figures, tables, bibliographies, index. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. \$160.00.

FOR SEVERAL DECADES, scholars of the Egyptian Nile Valley have relied almost exclusively upon Alfred Lucas's *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (and especially the 4th edition,



revised and enlarged by J. R. Harris) as the primary source of information on ancient Egyptian uses of raw materials. While the volume I review here does not precisely replace that classic work, it is a much-needed, well-illustrated, and engrossing update on the status of research on materials and technology, with the added attraction of multidisciplinary collaboration on key topics.

Following an introduction by the editors, twenty-four essays are organized into three primary categories: Part I, Inorganic Materials; Part II, Organic Materials; and Part III, Food Technology. Each chapter is illustrated with black-and-white figures, including images, line drawings, and/or tables; and each is accompanied by a specific bibliography incorporating references to the latest research on the particular topic. Several chapters were coauthored by specialists from fields other than Egyptology, and all authors are actively engaged either in archaeological fieldwork or in laboratory analysis employing the most recent scientific techniques. The resulting depth of perspective is one of the significant strengths of this volume.

Part I, Inorganic Materials, includes chapters on stone, soil, painting materials, pottery, metals, and Egyptian faience and glass. As throughout the volume, the essays cover a wide range of topics pertinent to each particular material. In the chapter by Aston et al. on stone, for instance, the authors discuss quarrying techniques; provide maps and a list of all known quarries; exhaustively list and describe all the different stones used in ancient Egypt, commenting on the date ranges in which they occur; elucidate the stone-working technology of buildings, vessels, gemstones, and sculpture; detail methods of scientific analysis; and conclude with the status of provenance studies and an extensive bibliography. Both Kemp's contribution on soil and the essay by Bourriau et al. on pottery will be indispensable to the archaeologist. The former includes a crucial discussion of mudbrick architecture, lavishly illustrated with photographs and line drawings; the latter contains a lengthy exploration of the social and economic context of pottery, supported by an examination of the archaeological evidence available for such inferences.

Part II, Organic Materials, comprises chapters on papyrus, basketry, textiles, leatherwork, and skin products; ivory and related materials; ostrich eggshells, wood, mummification; oil, fat, and wax; resins, amber, and bitumen; adhesives and binders; and hair. In this section, several of the chapters benefit from the copious use of illustrations, richly complementing the authors' discussions. For instance, Wendrich's chapter on basketry incorporates not only line drawings of specific basketry techniques but also images from ancient Egyptian tomb decorations showing baskets in use, as well as a good photographic image of a typical coiled basket. The accompanying essay explores thoroughly and diachronically materials, techniques, tools, terminology, and function. Wendrich concludes this well-rounded discussion with an exploration of the people making and using the baskets, as well as the postproduction "life expectancy" of different kinds of baskets. This contextualization of materials among the ancient people working and using them is a pervasive theme of the book and enlivens many of its chapters. Another excellent example of this intellectual strategy is Vogelsang-Eastwood's essay on textiles, an absorbing odyssey through types of fibers; production technologies; dyeing and decorating; ancient storage, laundering, care, and repair; types of clothing; and uses in household, economic, medical, religious, and funerary contexts, well illustrated with numerous photographs, tomb scenes showing the activities under discussion, and line drawings of specific sewing and weaving techniques.

Part III, Food Technology, presents an important collection of articles on a burgeoning area of research in Egyptian archaeology and a category of inquiry largely absent from Lucas and Harris. Stemming from the more recent emphasis in Egyptian archaeology on settlement archaeology and the information these contexts yield on the lifeways and health status of the ancient Egyptian population, essays in this section cover cereal production and food processing; brewing and baking; viticulture and wine production; fruits, vegetables, pulses, and condiments; and meat processing. Samuel's chapter on brewing and baking, which quite logically follows Murray's excellent discussion of cereal production

and processing, examines issues surrounding these two most important staples of the ancient Egyptian diet: bread and beer. Both played important roles not only in nutrition but also in economy (wages were paid in multiples of bread and beer) and in religious ritual (in which the offering of bread and beer was a central activity). Samuel assesses the different sources of evidence available, including ancient texts and representations, and archaeological remains, which have yielded tools and installations for the production of these staples as well as actual loaves of bread and residues of beer. Her subsequent discussion of processing skillfully interweaves these different types of evidence with the results of laboratory analysis, ethnographic analogy, and experimental reconstructions. Ikram's chapter on meat processing provides a well-timed balance to a lingering preconception in the field that most Egyptians could not afford to eat meat; she points out that most Egyptians consumed meat at least once or twice a week. For poorer people, meat was available through hunting, fishing, or raising poultry, while the wealthy consumed sheep, goat, or pig meat from their own herds or purchased from temple surpluses.

On the whole, there is much to praise and very

little to criticize in this impressive volume. Several of the photographic images would have benefited from a larger format, as it is not always easy to see detail in an image measuring 2.5 by 3.5 inches. Nonetheless, contrasted to the complete lack of illustrations of any kind in Lucas and Harris, the consistent use throughout this work of varied graphic representation enhances its readability. To an even greater degree than its predecessor, therefore, Nicholson and Shaw's edited volume encourages browsing for the sheer enjoyment of amassing facts of interest, as much as for information on specific topics.

*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* has already become a crucial reference volume for archaeologists and other scholars working in Egypt. It will certainly attain similar status in the arena of world archaeology, given its comprehensive treatment of materials and technology relevant cross-culturally. It is an expensive volume and will not therefore be within the budget constraints of most individual scholars; but every library with archaeological and ethnological collections should have this new classic on its shelves. □

JANET RICHARDS

















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